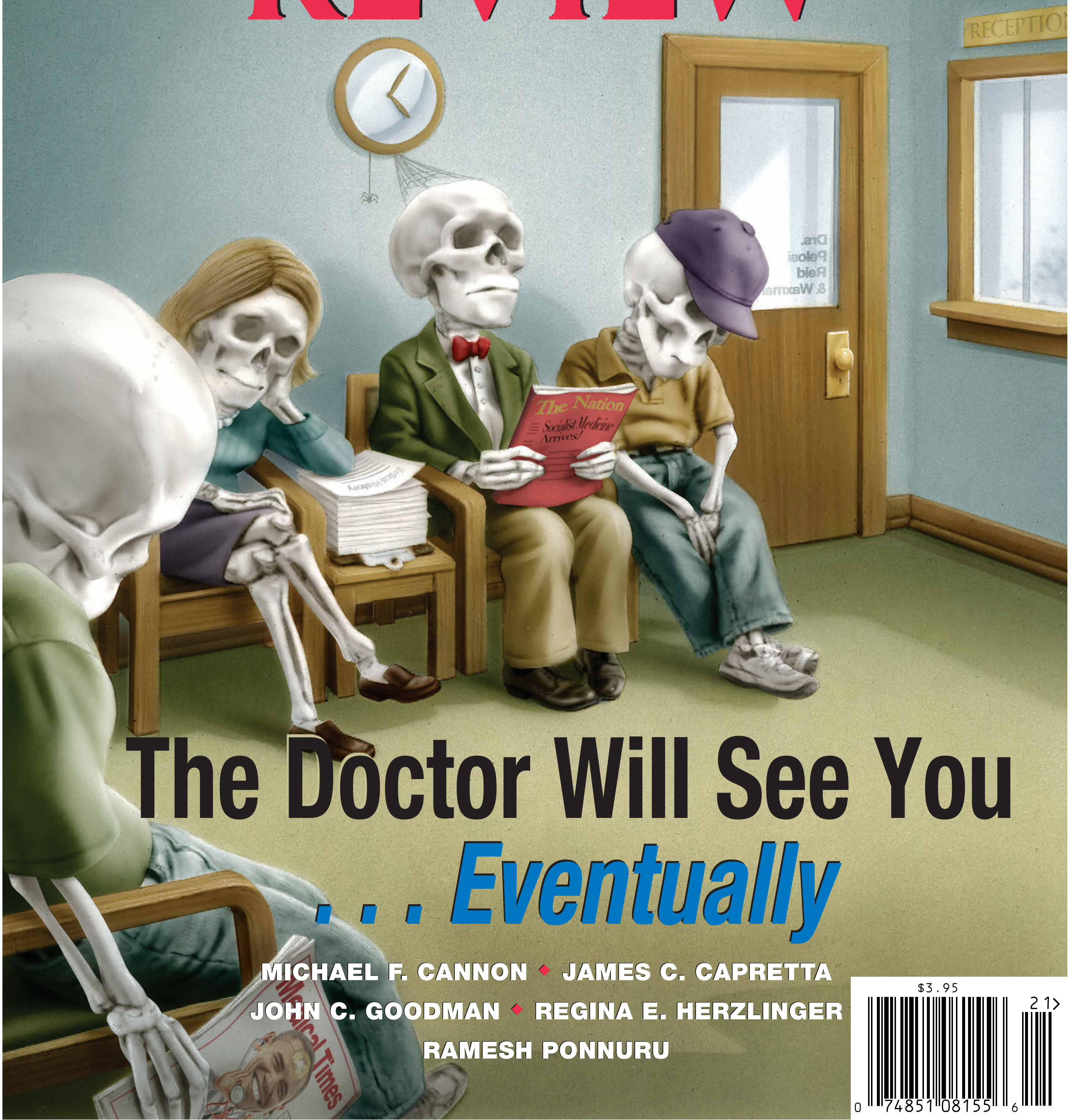
May 25, 2009 49145 $3.95

JACK KEMP, R.I.P.

Special Health-Care Issue

NATIONAL REVIEW


RECEPTION
Drs. Pelosi Reid & Waxman
The Nation
Socialist Medicine Arrives!
Medical History
Medical Times

The Doctor Will See You . . . Eventually

MICHAEL F. CANNON ◆ JAMES C. CAPRETTA
JOHN C. GOODMAN ◆ REGINA E. HERZLINGER
RAMESH PONNURU

www.nationalreview.com

Our way out of the energy fix: an energy mix.

It's going to take a combination of hydrocarbons, low carbons and energy efficiency to build a more secure and sustainable energy future. As the largest contributor to U.S. energy development, BP has invested over $40 billion in the last 5 years in oil and gas, as well as alternatives like wind, solar and biofuels. For example, BP is working with Verenium to accelerate the development of advanced biofuels for U.S. motorists. Learn more about America's most diverse energy portfolio at bp.com/us.

bp

beyond petroleum®

© 2009 BP Products North America Inc.

Contents

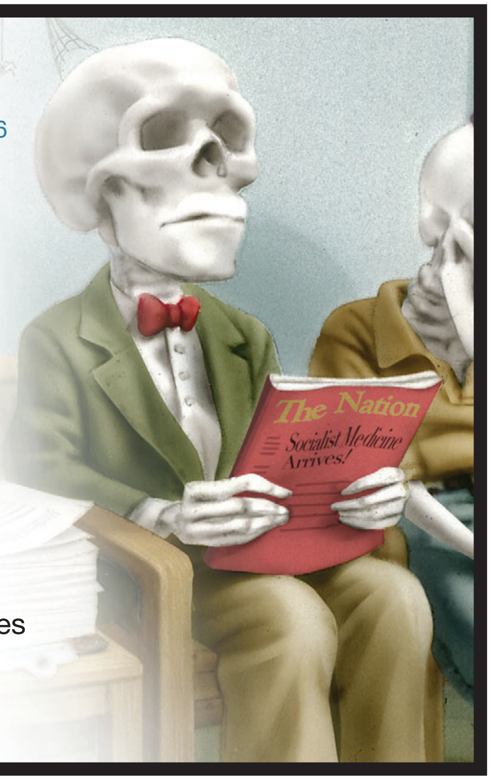
NATIONAL REVIEW

MAY 25, 2009 | VOLUME LXI, NO. 9 | www.nationalreview.com

ON THE COVER

Diagnosis Page 26

It is critical that we fully understand the health-care problems we are trying to address—before we act. Health care accounts for roughly one-sixth of the nation's economic output, and political intervention in this sensitive sector will inevitably be accompanied by unintended consequences and changes to our quality of life. *Regina E. Herzlinger*



COVER: THOMAS REIS

ARTICLES

18 **DEFEATING OBAMACARE** *by Ramesh Ponnuru*
Why and how.

20 **SOCIALIZED FAILURE** *by John C. Goodman*
Dissecting health-care data from Britain, Canada, and elsewhere.

24 **TORTURE IS A STATE OF MIND** *by Andrew C. McCarthy*
Mens rea and the jurisprudence of coercive interrogations.

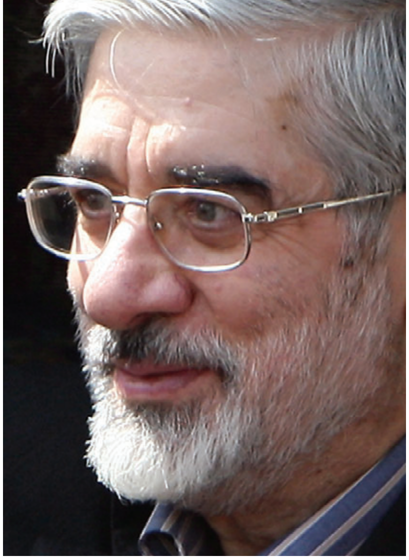
FEATURES

26 **DIAGNOSIS** *by Regina E. Herzlinger*
What, precisely, is wrong with the American health-care system?

32 **PLACEBO** *by Michael F. Cannon*
Why the Democrats' proposals will not work.

36 **PRESCRIPTION** *by James C. Capretta*
A politically salable approach to market-based reform.

38 **AHMADINEJAD'S LAST STAND?** *by Amir Taheri*
The meaning of Iran's upcoming presidential election.



Amir Taheri on Iran . . . p. 38

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

44 **IS THERE AN AMERICAN MIND?**
Allen C. Guelzo challenges the idea of American mindlessness.

48 **HINGE OF HISTORY**
Ronald Radosh reviews The Conservative Turn: Lionel Trilling, Whittaker Chambers, and the Lessons of Anti-Communism, *by Michael Kimmage.*

52 **MUSIC: FOUR NIGHTS**
Jay Nordlinger reports from the Salzburg Easter Festival.

54 **FILM: STRANGE VOYAGE**
Ross Douthat reviews Star Trek.

55 **COUNTRY LIFE: BRIGHT WINGS**
Richard Brookhiser communes with the birds.

SECTIONS

2 Letters to the Editor
4 The Week
42 The Bent Pin . . . . *Florence King*
43 The Long View . . . . *Rob Long*
46 Poetry . . . . *Olivia Ellis Simpson*
56 Happy Warrior . . . . *Mark Steyn*

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 2009. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 386-246-0118, Monday–Friday, 8:00 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A. RATES: $59.00 a year (24 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

NATIONAL REVIEW

MAY 25 ISSUE; PRINTED MAY 7

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Jay Nordlinger
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
Managing Editor Jason Lee Steorts
Literary Editor Michael Potemra
Executive Editor Christopher McEvoy
National Political Reporter John J. Miller
Art Director Luba Kolomytseva
Deputy Managing Editors
Fred Schwarz / Kevin D. Williamson
Associate Editor Robert VerBruggen
Research Director John J. Virtes
Research Manager Dorothy McCartney
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to the Editor Katherine Connell
Contributing Editors
Robert H. Bork / John Derbyshire
Ross Douthat / Rod Dreher / David Frum
Roman Genn / Jim Geraghty / Jonah Goldberg
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow / Mark R. Levin
Yuval Levin / Rob Long / Jim Manzi
Andrew C. McCarthy / Kate O'Beirne
David B. Rivkin Jr.

NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE
Editor Kathryn Jean Lopez
Managing Editor Edward John Craig
Deputy Managing Editor Duncan Currie
Associate Editor Emily Karrs
Staff Reporters David Freddoso
Mark Hemingway / Stephen Spruiell
Webmaster James Voris
Technical Services Russell Jenkins

CHAIRMAN & CEO
Thomas L. Rhodes

EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Linda Bridges / John O'Sullivan

Contributors
Hadley Arkes / Baloo / Tom Bethell
James Bowman / Priscilla L. Buckley
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter
George Gilder / Jeffrey Hart / Kevin A. Hassett
Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / David Klinghoffer
Anthony Lejeune / D. Keith Mano
Michael Novak / Alan Reynolds
William A. Rusher / Tracy Lee Simmons
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
Vin Weber

Assistant to the Chairman Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Accountant Zofia Baraniak
Treasurer Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Amy Tyler
Circulation Director Erik Zenhausern
Circulation Manager Jason Ng
WORLD WIDE WEB www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 386-246-0118
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226
ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Director Jim Fowler
Advertising Manager Kevin Longstreet
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER Paul Olivett
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER Martin P. McNulty

PUBLISHER
Jack Fowler

FOUNDER
William F. Buckley Jr.

Letters

Government-Sponsored Fiscal Crisis

Chuck Blahous certainly mounts an impressive case against those who downplay the Social Security crisis ("Social Security Myths," May 4). As for me, I'm not going to push the panic button until Congressman Barney Frank says that the system is sound.

David O'Malia
Carmel, Ind.

Disregard the Tip Jar

Rob Long—I hear you!

One of the most important decisions I make each day is where I will purchase my midday repast. I take into account the quality of the sandwich and the visages that serve it to me.

Twice a week, I purchase my sandwich at one location and my preferred soda at another location, so that I may be properly satiated, as the sandwich shop does not offer the proper beverage.

Four times out of five each week I confront a jug soliciting tips for the workers. I have not and trust that I will never succumb to this plea!

My tip to the workers who prepare my sandwiches four times a week is that I will be true to them as long as they are true to me.

John T. Hird
North Providence, R.I.

It's the Little Things

I was happily reading your publication for the first time this afternoon, enjoying the insight, the perspectives, and even the advertisements—and looking forward to returning to the library to read the next issue. That is, until you misspelled the name of my hometown on page 46 ("The Long View," May 4). That's where I stopped reading.

Edmond, Okla., is where I grew up—and was educated by some of the meanest (read: most exacting and precise) English teachers ever to walk the face of the Earth. I am increasingly disheartened by the lack of basic spell- and fact-checking in all manner of publications. It would not pass muster with those ladies.

Edmond is not some backwater with no history; rather, it has a rather gruesome claim to fame: If you will recall, it was the site of one of the earliest postal shootings in the country in the 1980s. On the bright side, we also spawned Olympic gymnast Shannon Miller.

Cynthia Maggard Singleton
Lenexa, Kan.

THE EDITORS REPLY: Our apologies to Edmond, its storied history, and its mean old ladies.

Letters may be submitted by e-mail to letters@nationalreview.com.

THE RIGHT CARE AT THE RIGHT TIME SAVES LIVES

QualityFirst.ACC.org

That seems simple enough—but in today's complex world delivering the right care at the right time takes coordination and information. That's why the **American College of Cardiology** is taking the lead in transforming health care from the inside out. We're working hard to bring greater transparency and accountability to our practice of modern medicine, to empower patients and put balance back into the doctor patient relationship, and use the latest technology to improve the quality and effectiveness of care our patients receive.

The right care at the right time. That's setting a new standard for health care reform and saving lives in the process.

Quality First
American College of Cardiology

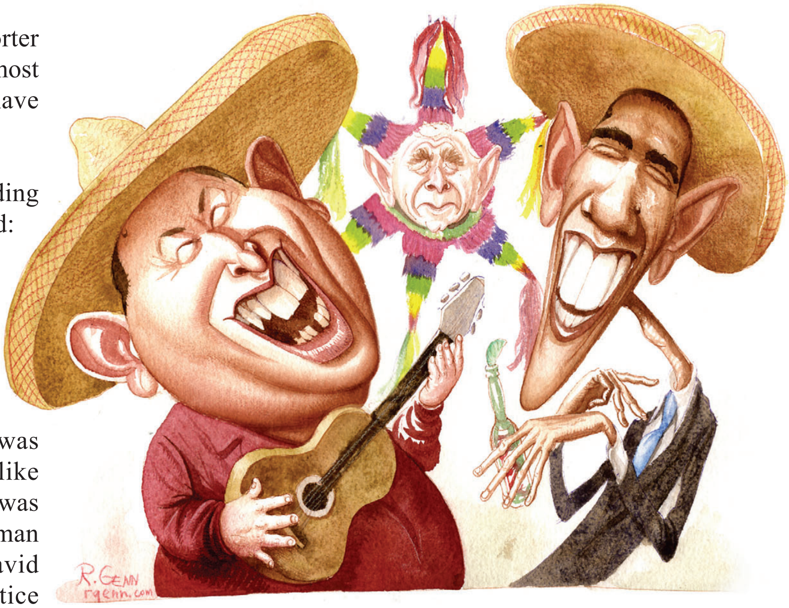
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Week

■ In a recent press conference, a *New York Times* reporter asked President Obama what had “enchanted” him the most during his first 100 days as president. Obama might have answered: his press coverage.

■ The national odometer that measures taxing and spending has ticked from billions to trillions, but don’t be alarmed: Although we are in the Worst Crisis Since the Depression, we are led by the Best President Since FDR. Right? Thousands of Americans who aren’t convinced have been attending “tea parties,” in dozens of cities across the country, to protest the new potlatch. Tea parties are homely affairs with handmade signs and crowds taking breaks from day jobs. The first liberal response was to accuse them of being put-up jobs by GOP activists (like the typical labor/ACORN rally?). The second response was ridicule. CNN correspondent Susan Roesgen hectored a man at a party she was “covering”; Anderson Cooper and David Shuster made jokes about “tea bagging,” a sexual practice (and no, we won’t define it); former comic Janeane Garofalo said the parties were all “about hating a black man in the White House.” A savvier analysis came from Democratic Strategist, an online liberal site: Tea parties are an “authentically ‘grass roots’” movement, reflecting the “‘common sense’ understanding” of “the world of small business.” Democratic Strategist suggested ways for liberals to moderate the hostility of tea partiers; Republicans should think of how to reach out to them (deserve their support?). Meanwhile the tea parties should go on, in this brave, new, and unsatisfactory world.

■ Even though the Clean Air Act was designed to address conventional forms of pollution, the Supreme Court held in 2007 that its language could be read to authorize the Environmental Protection Agency to regulate greenhouse gases. (It was a 5–4 decision, with Justice Kennedy and the Court’s four liberals together.) If that decision was correct, then there is no need for Congress to debate action on global warming: It already authorized action by accident, when it passed the Clean Air Act. But the notion that the EPA should be able to transform the country’s energy sector without real input from Congress is absurd. So what the EPA is now doing, by listing carbon dioxide as a pollutant, is threatening to act if Congress does not pass a global-warming bill. If conservatives win in Congress, in other words, they may well still lose in the bureaucracy. Welcome to managed democracy.



See page 10.

ROMAN GENN

■ Chrysler declared bankruptcy, despite President Obama’s attempts to avoid that outcome. The administration’s auto task force attempted to browbeat Chrysler’s creditors into taking a terrible deal in order to spare the United Auto Workers union as much pain as possible. The large banks, which owe their continued existence to the $700 billion Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP), caved and agreed to take a massive haircut. But a group of smaller firms, calling themselves the Committee of Chrysler Non-TARP Lenders, refused to play ball. “I stand with the millions of Americans who own and want to buy Chrysler cars,” Obama said—not “those who held out when everybody else is making sacrifices.” First, if millions of Americans wanted to buy Chrysler cars, the company wouldn’t need the president of the United States to be its pitchman. Second, Obama does not seem to realize that Chrysler’s non-TARP lenders are not authorized to make “sacrifices” with their investors’ money—they are legally and morally bound to try to recover it. Investors will not long send their capital to a country whose government fails to grasp this basic principle of finance.

■ Several large banks, including J. P. Morgan and Goldman Sachs, have announced that they would like to repay the funds they took from the government as part of the TARP, but the Obama administration is discouraging them. A senior administration official told the *Financial Times* that a bank would not be allowed to repay its TARP funds unless doing so would be “good for the system”—never mind what would be good for the bank. The administration’s position raises the troublesome possibility that the government is trying to maintain control of the banks. Obama has already found such control useful, as in the Chrysler episode. The TARP was meant to provide temporary assistance during an extraordinary panic. Now that the panic has passed, stronger banks are seeking an exit, only to find that the new boss has barred the door.

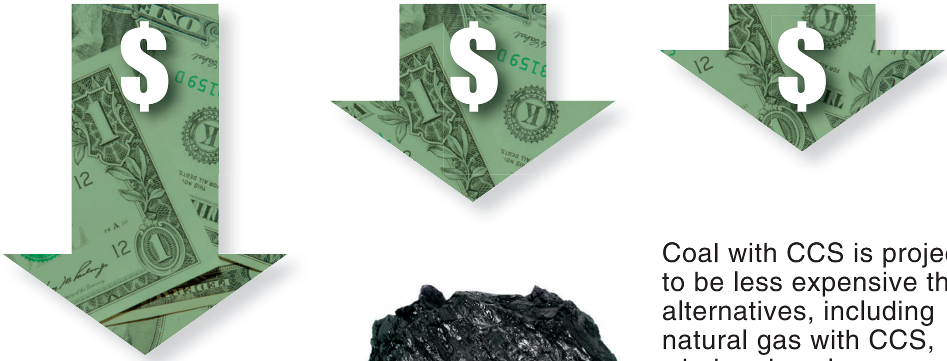
CLEAN GREEN COAL

COAL WITH CARBON CAPTURE AND STORAGE: THE LOW-COST, LOW-CARBON OPTION

15% - 50%
Below Wind

25% - 45% Below
Natural Gas

15% Below
Nuclear



Coal with CCS is projected to be less expensive than alternatives, including natural gas with CCS, wind and nuclear.

When it comes to U.S. energy security, economic stimulus and environmental progress… green coal is the solution.

Clean coal describes the enormous progress the United States has made in reducing billions of tons of emissions. In fact, the "environmental efficiency" of coal has improved 84 percent since 1970, as measured by reductions in regulated emissions per ton of coal.

The next goal is green coal with lower carbon dioxide emissions. The first step: Building advanced new coal plants with improved efficiency and smaller carbon footprints. The next step: Capturing the carbon dioxide and storing it underground. Carbon capture and storage (CCS) can even be used in oil fields to produce more energy.

Coal is already America's most abundant energy source, which is why it fuels half our electricity at just a fraction of the cost of other fuels. And studies show that coal with CCS is 15% to 50% less expensive than alternatives such as natural gas with CCS, nuclear or wind power.

Find out more at **CoalCanDoThat.com**.

Source: Carnegie Mellon University; "Cost and Performance of Fossil Fuel Power Plants with CO_2 Capture and Storage," *Energy Policy*, 2007, E.S. Rubin, et al.; "A National Renewable Portfolio Standard? Not Practical," 2008, *Issues in Science and Technology*, Jay Apt, et al.

Cost comparisons are based on an integrated gasification combined cycle coal plant with CCS.

Natural gas costs reflect the difference between deep CO_2 storage and enhanced oil recovery.

Peabody

CoalCanDoThat.com

■ President Obama, thrifty as always, has ordered his staff to go through the federal budget "line by line" and find $100 million worth of wasteful spending that can be cut. For the large group of Americans who can't tell a million from a billion from a kajillion, that may sound like a lot, but in comparison with the projected 2009 deficit of $1.85 trillion, it's tiny. How tiny? Imagine taking Obama's "race speech" from last year's primaries, his Berlin address to the people of the Earth, his acceptance speech at the Democratic convention, his inaugural address, and his quasi–State of the Union speech, and stringing them all together in one endless, glutinous, Red Bull–defying series of platitudes. Now imagine cutting exactly one word from the whole soggy mess. That's the same proportion that $100 million bears to $1.85 trillion. And unfortunately, we're as unlikely to see any serious budget cuts are we are to hear the president stop talking.

■ It seems military commissions might not be so bad after all. In one of its recent Friday-night inconvenient-news dumps, the Obama administration let slip that trials by commission—the Bush military-justice model for war crimes that was vigorously attacked by Candidate Obama and his supporters, such as now–Attorney General Eric Holder—are back in play. In January, the administration ordered a four-month adjournment so it could study the commission proceedings now pending against 21 of the most notorious terrorists being held at Guantanamo Bay (including the 9/11 plotters and the bombers of the USS *Cole*). Though Obama and Holder continue to attack the Bush counterterrorism measures as a departure from the rule of law, it has evidently dawned on them that many dangerous terrorists cannot be tried under the rigors of their preferred civilian protocols. The administration is releasing many terrorist detainees, and intends to release several into the United States, but the president obviously understands that the public will not tolerate a Khalid Sheikh Mohammed in its midst. So commissions are back on the menu. This rule-of-law business turns out to be harder than it looks.

■ Joe Biden has calmed the American public during the flu crisis by saying, "I wouldn't go anywhere in confined places now. . . . In a confined aircraft, when one person sneezes, it goes all the way through the aircraft. . . . I would not be . . . suggesting they ride the subway." Administration spokesmen quickly backtracked, but they needn't have bothered, as the nation has already learned not to pay Biden any mind. Here

Hidden Crisis

RAHM EMANUEL notoriously captured the spirit of Washington when he said that "you never want a serious crisis to go to waste. What I mean is that it's an opportunity to do things you could not do before."

But a little-recognized corollary has been equally important to the Obama administration: You never want to admit there is a crisis if it would require you to do something you would prefer to put off.

The nearby chart provides a case in point. We used to think that Social Security would have surpluses until 2017. Sadly, the economy has been so bad that in February of 2009 Social Security was in the red. A big reason is that workers who lose their jobs do not pay payroll taxes. The chart indicates that the Congressional Budget Office now believes that Social Security will have essentially no surplus next year.

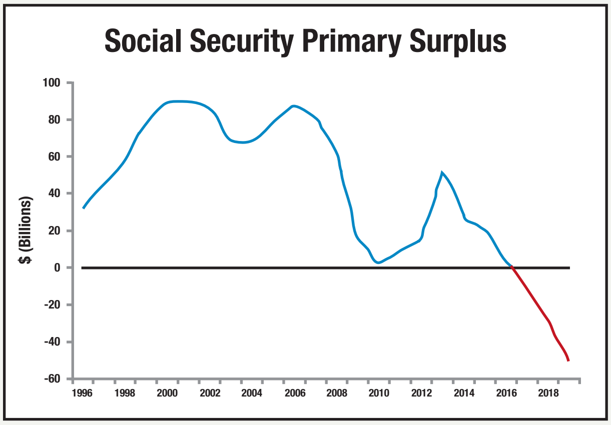
The problem is, the assumptions that give us that scenario are far more optimistic than the assumptions required to justify, say, a $787 billion stimulus package. Indeed, the chart is almost comical in its miraculous ability to skirt negative territory. In reality, Social Security will almost surely have a deficit this year. Such a deficit requires urgent reform.

Back in 1981, the National Commission on Social Security Reform—more commonly known as the Greenspan Commission, after its chairman—was established because Social Security was borrowing money from Medicare to pay out monthly benefits. The crisis atmosphere motivated action. After considering a number of proposals, the commission suggested increasing Social Security taxes and gradually raising the retirement age from 65 to 67. These recommendations were enacted in the 1983 Social Security Amendments Act, along with a few other fixes.

But fixing Social Security now would get in the way of imposing card check, hiking taxes on corporations, and "reforming" health care this year. So Democrats are ignoring the problem.

As government looks for excuses to undercut free markets, it seems to be able to find a crisis everywhere it looks. Except for where the crisis is.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT



SOURCES: SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE

Guess who'll pay for new energy taxes...

Raising taxes in a recession jeopardizes jobs and economic recovery

Congress will soon consider new taxes on America's oil and natural gas industry. These new energy taxes will produce wide-reaching effects, and ripple through our economy when America – and Americans – can least afford it.

These unprecedented taxes will serve to reduce investment in new energy supplies at a time when nearly two-thirds of Americans support developing our domestic oil and natural gas resources. That means less energy, thousands of American jobs being lost and further erosion of our energy security.

Our economy is in crisis, and we need to get the nation on the road to economic recovery. This is no time to burden Americans with new energy costs.

THE *people* OF AMERICA'S
OIL AND NATURAL GAS INDUSTRY

Find out what you can do at **EnergyTomorrow.org**

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is yet another sharp break with the Bush administration—a vice president so clownishly inept that portraying him as an evil genius would be like making Richard III out of Elmer Fudd.

■ Any new president's cabinet is something like a field of horses coming out of the gate. Some will not make it to the finish line. If the race is a steeplechase, some will fall at the first fence. To anyone running a book on Barack Obama's cabinet, Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano must look like a good prospect for early elimination. In mid-April she identified the two main threats to our security: Canada, and "right-wing extremist groups" (with returning military personnel a particular hazard). A few days later she told a TV interviewer that "to the extent that terrorists have come into our country or suspected or known terrorists have entered our country across a border, it's been across the Canadian border." The interviewer asked her whether she was talking about the 9/11 terrorists (who did not enter from Canada). "Not just those, but others as well," said Janet. Let's just hope that she will be led quietly from the field before Canada declares war.

BRIAN BAER/SACRAMENTO BEE

■ The less said about former senator John Edwards, the . . . oh, who are we kidding? He is vile, he is the personification of preening liberal self-regard, and he is under federal investigation for using campaign funds to pay more than $100,000 to videographer Rielle Hunter, who provided him with campaign services of an adulterous nature during the Democratic primary race. Edwards says he did nothing wrong in making the payments. He also says that Hunter's new baby isn't his and that he practiced perfect marital fidelity until his wife's cancer went into remission. Two of those claims are inconsequential as public matters; should the first prove untrue, Edwards could go to prison for ten years. The man could use a good lawyer: someone manipulative, open to stretching the truth, willing to do whatever it takes to win. Someone like him.

■ Opposed by Republicans such as Arlen Specter, and by Democrats such as Arlen Specter, "card check" provisions are expected to be stripped from the cynically named Employee Free Choice Act. In the matter of union-representation votes, card check would have replaced secret-ballot elections with a process vulnerable to pressure by union bosses. Card check was perhaps the most offensive feature of the bill, but other surviving measures are arguably more destructive. The worst would empower the federal government to impose union contracts on private firms that are unable to come to mutually agreeable terms with labor representatives. These contracts would be imposed by the National Labor Relations Board, soon to be dominated by union militants installed by President Obama. Among the president's recent NLRB nominees is AFL-CIO lawyer Craig Becker, who has argued that workers should not have any right to vote on the matter of union representation, and who believes that nothing so quaint as an "affirmative vote" should be required to impose a union on a workforce. Card check may be gone, but no compromise that allows the likes of Becker to impose contracts on private businesses should be accepted.

■ The Justice Department finally dropped its espionage case against two officials from the pro-Israeli lobbying group AIPAC. The case involved a criminalization of Washington's stock-in-trade, the exchange of information. Under the Justice Department's theory, any reporter who received potentially classified information from a government source would be subject to prosecution for passing it along or publishing it. Justice's methods were also objectionable. To entrap its targets, the FBI used a sting operation that, rather than offering money or comforts (which appeal to the greed of the insulated criminals and corrupt politicians for whom stings are usually reserved), subjected the AIPAC officials to a moral dilemma: keep to themselves the planted "classified information" that Iranian operations were targeting Israelis, or pass the information to Israel in hope of saving lives. The Justice Department dropped the case when court rulings held that it would have to prove the defendants meant to harm the United States, and promised further revelations that would embarrass the government. It should never have come to that.

■ ABC News revealed the identities of two CIA contractors—covert agents—who allegedly oversaw the harsh interrogations of terrorist detainees. The disclosure served no public purpose, but exposed the contractors and their families to the vengeance of jihadists and the antics of anti-war extremists. The media and Democrats demanded a scorched-earth investigation to smoke out Bush officials who leaked the CIA affiliation of Valerie Plame Wilson—at least until it emerged that the leaker was Richard Armitage, one of the Left's favorite Republicans. Mrs. Wilson was not a consequential intelligence operative (her employment by the CIA was known to many), but she and her husband were against the war in Iraq, so she was transformed into a victim of felonious treachery. Will anyone demand an investigation to prosecute the officials who leaked the identities of secret operatives trying to protect Americans from terror attacks?

■ If Charles Hurley, currently nominated to head the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, gets his way, the law will forbid Beltway commuters and Montana ranchers alike to drive faster than 55 mph. Just in case the federal government isn't quite powerful enough yet, you know.

■ The Supreme Court ruled in *Federal Communications Commission* v. *Fox Television Stations* that the FCC could fine broadcasters who allowed even fleeting expletives to be aired. The case examined only the mechanics of the original ruling;

All the sound without all the wires.

4:32
TRACK 5
003
BOSE

Shown in
Platinum White.

The Bose® Wave®
music system

Just plug it in and hear what you've been missing. With the Bose Wave® music system, there are no stacks of components. No tangle of wires. No dials to adjust. Advanced Bose technologies inside this small system work together to fill the room with the acclaimed performance that has made Bose the most respected name in sound. Audio writer Wayne Thompson of the *Oregonian* calls it "one-of-a-kind" and "my choice for product of the year." You enjoy clear, realistic sound that you may have only thought possible from a much larger, more complicated stereo. In fact, *Forbes FYI* reports that "you'll think you're listening to a…sound system that costs five times more."

A roomful of premium sound…not wires. You buy a sound system to listen to music. Not to spend hours setting up equipment and connecting wires. With the Wave® music system, you'll experience the pleasures of Bose quality sound moments after you open the box. Rich Warren of the *News-Gazette* says this easy-to-use system "will flat out seduce you."

Enjoy the acclaimed performance in so many ways. Listen to the Wave® music system in your living room, kitchen, bedroom, wherever you want better sound. Everything you need is built in: CD/MP3 CD player, FM/AM tuner, clock and alarm. You control them all with a convenient, credit card-style remote. Connect an additional audio source if you like, and hear lifelike sound from your TV or MP3 player. An optional **Multi-CD Changer** makes it easy to listen to your favorite music for hours. As David Novak, the Gadget Guy, says, "It can easily replace whatever component system you currently have."

Try it for 30 days, risk free. Our Excitement Guarantee lets you experience the Wave® music system risk free for 30 days. Choose your favorite color: Platinum White, Graphite Gray or Titanium Silver. And order by June 30, 2009, to receive a free $50 Bose Promotional Card to use toward your next Bose product purchase.† When you call, ask about making **12 easy payments,** with no interest charges from Bose.* So call now and order the Wave® music system. You'll soon discover how delightfully simple it is to enjoy Bose sound.

BOSE
PROMOTIONAL CARD
$50

FREE PROMO CARD
– a $50 value –
when you order by
June 30, 2009.

Now available in TITANIUM SILVER.
Shown with optional Multi-CD Changer.

To order or learn more:

1-800-925-9738, ext. TR485
www.Bose.com/WMS

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

---

*Bose payment plan available on orders of $299-$1500 paid by major credit card. Separate financing offers may be available for select products. See website for details. Down payment is 1/12 the product price plus applicable tax and shipping charges, charged when your order is shipped. Then, your credit card will be billed for 11 equal monthly installments beginning approximately one month from the date your order is shipped, with 0% APR and no interest charges from Bose. Credit card rules and interest may apply. U.S. residents only. Limit one active financing program per customer. ©2009 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The Wave® music system's distinctive design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation. †Financing and free $50 Promotional Card offers not to be combined with other offers or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. Offer is limited to purchases made directly from Bose. The Promotional Card is valid on an additional product purchased between 5/1/09 and 12/31/09 directly from Bose, and is not redeemable for purchases from authorized dealers. If the Wave® music system is returned, the Promotional Card will be de-activated and no longer valid. Offer valid 5/1/09-6/30/09. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only and does not include return shipping. Delivery is subject to product availability. Quotes reprinted with permission: Thomas Jackson, *Forbes FYI*, Winter/04.

the constitutionality of the ban looks likely to come up soon. One small sociological point merits attention. Justice John Paul Stevens, dissenting, argued that not every use of a four-letter word suggests sex or excrement. The decay of epithets into mere intensifiers is a familiar linguistic process. What keeps the four-letter word that begins with *f* tied to its origins is surely the billion-dollar porn industry, which fills every computer screen and hotel room (at least potentially) with paid performers exclaiming it. If the airwaves were loaded with blaspheming maniacs bellowing "God's wounds" even Justice Stevens might not say *zounds*.

■ Pakistan is on the edge. The reason for is clear: Pres. Asif Ali Zardari made the mistake of negotiating a deal with the local Taliban. He has promoted himself as a democrat, and democrats make deals, do they not? The Taliban were permitted to institute sharia, Islamic law, in territory they could claim as their own, and in return they would disarm. It cannot be a surprise that they cheated, invading yet more districts. Estimates number them at 6,000, with volunteers coming in from al-Qaeda on the Afghan side of the border. They are publicly beheading those opposed to them, including government officials; destroying schools; and brutalizing women. Half a million people have already fled. Washington is horrified by the prospect of this new terrorist haven, and further panicked by the fear that in the confusion the Taliban will get their hands on at least some part of the country's nuclear arsenal. Gen. David Petraeus, head of U.S. Central Command, has warned that the next few weeks will determine whether the Pakistani government survives. Zardari is so evidently ineffectual that power could shift to his longtime rival Nawaz Sharif. A crypto-Islamist himself, Sharif might well cut yet another disastrous deal with the Taliban. Someone of stature has to rally the army, oppose the Taliban, and save the country.

■ The arrest in Tehran of Roxana Saberi is a nasty slap in the face for President Obama. That's how the mullahs repay an open hand. Saberi has dual American-Iranian nationality, and has worked as a journalist in Iran for several years. The Iranian regime accused her of espionage, produced no evidence in a trial that lasted just one hour, and handed her an eight-year prison sentence. The shamelessness of these proceedings was deliberate; cruelty in such a regime is carefully calculated. The mullahs want to test whether Obama and his secretary of state, Hillary Clinton, will limit themselves to the usual feeble bleats about "disappointment"—in plain words, whether they will show no resolve to defend an American citizen who is the victim of injustice. Iran's next step, of course, will be to deliver a bigger and more confident slap.

AFP/HO

■ President Obama put on an amazing performance at the Summit of the Americas, held in Trinidad and Tobago. He was exceptionally friendly with Hugo Chávez, the Venezuelan strongman: giving him several handshakes, including one that was "soul brother" style; grinning and generally yukking it up; and then bidding him farewell with "Adiós, mi amigo." Is Hugo Chávez a friend of the United States and democracy in general? How must Obama's performance have looked to Chávez's democratic opposition? Some days after the summit, Chávez's principal opponent, Manuel Rosales, sought asylum in Peru.

■ Jimmy Carter is a democrat, and a former American president. Fidel Castro is an absolute dictator and monster: If you doubt this, consult with his many political prisoners, and others. The other week, Carter commented on the Cuban situation, where Castro's brother Raúl is now nominally in charge. Carter said, "I think Fidel is staying as aloof as he possibly can"; yet he also "reserves the right to come forward on a particular occasion when he feels his voice might be helpful in clarifying an issue." Carter might have been talking about politics in Norway, rather than in a police state.

■ Lewis Carroll brilliantly represented a collection of people who had lost touch with reality as a mad hatter's tea party, and that is the exact metaphor for the U.N. conference known as "Durban II" but actually held in Geneva. The subject was supposed to be human rights, and the agenda was in the hands of those whose notion of such legalisms is—what shall we say: limited, murderous? In any case, human rights turned out to have nothing to do with Sudan, Tibet, or indeed Iran or Libya or anywhere else similar. Led by President Ahmadinejad of Iran, everyone contributed to a hatefest exclusively about Israel. The United States and other countries refused to attend, and many other delegates walked out in protest when Ahmadinejad began his racist rantings. Ahmadinejad's goons actually harassed Nobel Peace Prize laureate Elie Wiesel. Remember the name of Navi Pillay, the high commissioner and secretary general of the conference. She allowed such gems as "9/11 is an unexplained mystery blamed on Arabs," and finally fantasized that the conference was "a celebration of tolerance and dignity for all." It might be tragic if it were not such pure and limpid farce.

■ You may remember our old friend "Asian values": the phrase used by Asian dictators and their apologists. The West may have elections, a free press, and all that democratic jazz, went the line; but we have "Asian values." In fairly short order, Taiwanese, South Koreans, Filipinos, and some others put the lie to that. But Jackie Chan has given "Asian values" a comeback. He is the famed martial-arts actor, and he told a Chinese audience, "I'm not sure if it's good to have freedom or not. I'm really confused now. If you're too free, you're like the way Hong Kong is now. It's very chaotic. Taiwan is also chaotic. I'm gradually beginning to feel that we Chinese need to be controlled. If we're not being controlled, we'll just do what we want." That must have warmed the cockles of Beijing's heart, to the extent it has one. Of course, Jackie Chan went and did what he wanted: He moved to the West and found fame and fortune. But he would not have other Chinese pursue their own destinies, wherever they live.

The Leading Political Thinkers in History
The Ideas That Shape Our World

Power over People: Classical and Modern Political Theory

Offers Audio and DVD Lectures by One of America's Most Prominent Scholars

Why is the world the way it is? What is the best that has been thought and said about government, power, and the individual in society? Are human beings fundamentally equal or unequal?

Illuminating Comparisons

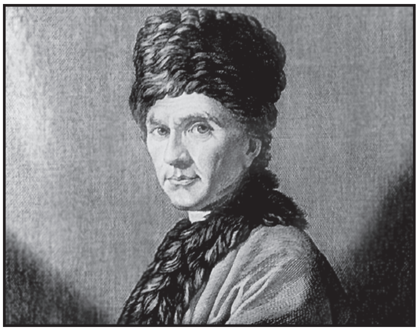
Now there's a way for you to fill the gaps without putting your life on hold. **Power over People: Classical and Modern Political Theory** is a cross-cultural exploration of 2,500 years of political philosophy tailored for continuing learners like you.

If you spend just 45 minutes a day—while commuting, relaxing at home, or even exercising—you'll learn a surprisingly large amount about the minds and ideas that have shaped our time, and in little more than two weeks!

Professor Dennis Dalton's course is focused, accurate, and relevant. You will enjoy intellectual stimulation of the highest order. Professor Dalton is that rare teacher who combines erudition, fluency, and the ability to awaken others' passion for learning.

Dr. Dalton traces two distinct schools of political theory, idealism and realism, from their roots in ancient India and Greece through history and, ultimately, to their impact on the 20th century.

In this course, he invites you to examine some of the fundamental questions that have shaped Western political thought since its inception, together with some of the most influential answers that political theorists have proposed.



LOC, LC-USZ62-48957.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Extreme Personalities

Professor Dalton's wide-ranging exploration of power and its use is kept focused by his masterful use of comparisons—he contrasts Plato's idealism with Aristotle's realism, Marx's optimism with Freud's pessimism, and Hitler's exclusionism and exaltation of violence with Gandhi's inclusionism and insistence on nonviolence.

About Your Professor

Dr. Dennis Dalton (Ph.D., Univer-sity of London) is the Ann Whitney Olin Professor of Political Science at Barnard College, Columbia University. Professor Dalton has been honored with several scholarships and grants including two Fulbright Scholarships.

About The Teaching Company

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group, we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses®.

We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 3,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another, or we will refund your money promptly.

Lecture Titles

1. The Hindu Vision of Life
2. Thucydides and the Peloponnesian War
3. Law and Rule in Sophocles's *Antigone*
4. Socrates and Socratic Quest
5. Plato—Idealism and Power, Part I
6. Plato—Idealism and Power, Part II
7. Aristotle's Critique of Plato's *Republic*
8. Machiavelli's Theory of Power Politics
9. Rousseau's Theory of Human Nature and Society
10. Marx's Critique of Capitalism and Solution of Communism
11. Freud's Theory of Human Nature and Civilization
12. Thoreau's Theory of Civil Disobedience
13. Dostoyevsky's Grand Inquisitor
14. The Idea of Anarchism and the Example of Emma Goldman
15. Hitler's Use of Power
16. Gandhi's Use of Power

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day™
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.™

SAVE UP TO $185!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL JULY 24, 2009

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)
Fax: 703-378-3819

Special offer is available online at
www.TEACH12.com/1natr

The Great Courses
THE TEACHING COMPANY
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 33143

Please send me **Power over People: Classical and Modern Political Theory**, which consists of sixteen 45-minute lectures plus Course Guidebooks.

☐ **DVD $69.95** (std. price $254.95) **SAVE $185!**
plus $10 shipping, processing, and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee

☐ **Audio CD $49.95** (std. price $179.95) **SAVE $130!**
plus $10 shipping, processing, and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee

☐ **Check or Money Order Enclosed**

* Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply.
For more details, call us or visit the FAQ page on our website.

** Virginia residents please add 5% sales tax.

Charge my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ DISCOVER NOVUS ☐

ACCOUNT NUMBER EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order—required for international orders)*

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Special offer is available online at www.TEACH12.com/1natr
Offer Good Through: July 24, 2009

About Our Sale Price Policy

Why is the sale price for this course so much lower than its standard price? Every course we make goes on sale at least once a year. Producing large quantities of only the sale courses keeps costs down and allows us to pass the savings on to you. This also enables us to fill your order immediately: 99% of all orders placed by 2 pm eastern time ship that same day. Order before July 24, 2009, to receive these savings.

■ Gao Zhisheng is one of the many remarkable people who do China proud. A lawyer, he has defended Falun Gong practitioners, "house church" activists, and other citizens who are targeted by the Communist government. He himself has been targeted. In the fall of 2007, he was tortured for 59 days, almost to death. One of his crimes was to have written to the U.S. Congress. On February 4 of this year, he disappeared—which is to say, he was disappeared. This happened after his wife, Geng He, escaped with their two children to Thailand, and then to the United States. Now Geng He has written to Congress, asking that her husband's case be on the agenda. Our relations with China can never be completely normal so long as it treats its Gao Zhishengs this way.

■ Since tobacco came into general use four hundred years ago, *compulsory* smoking has not been a prominent feature of civilized life. The only instance we know of was at English boys' boarding schools in the 1660s, when pupils were required to smoke to ward off the plague. A graduate of Eton College told diarist Thomas Hearne that "he was never so much whipped in his life as he was one morning for not smoking." Employees of China's Hubei Province are under a similar ukase today, though for economic, not health reasons, and with fines in place of whippings. The provincial government has ordered everyone on its payroll, including teachers, to smoke locally produced cigarettes, with a province-wide target of 230,000 packs a year. Work units that fail to meet their quota, or that are found smoking non-local brands, will be fined. Given the health costs of prolonged smoking, this is economic short-termism at its worst; but there's a lot of *that* about, and not only in China.

■ Ireland's constitution requires punishment for blasphemy, and Irish statute law is framed accordingly. A 1996 commission recommended changing Ireland's constitution in the direction of free speech, but that would involve a referendum, which the government cannot be bothered with. Justice minister Dermot Ahern has declared that the current law will be repealed and replaced with something milder, blasphemy being prosecutable only if it is "grossly abusive or insulting in relation to matters held sacred by any religion." Whose religion? With a swelling Muslim population—32,539 in the 2006 census, up *70 percent* since 2002—it is likely the Danish cartoon ruckus that disturbs Mr. Ahern's sleep.

■ In Aristophanes' play *Lysistrata*, the women of Greece go on a sex strike in hopes of forcing their menfolk to end the Peloponnesian War. The first week of May saw a real-life *Lysistrata* strategy being acted out in Kenya. Recall the disturbances that followed the election of December 2007 in that country. It was widely believed that the election result had been rigged in favor of Pres. Mwai Kibaki. Supporters of losing candidate Raila Odinga took to the streets. Hundreds died; hundreds of thousands were left homeless. Matters were patched up by a coalition arrangement, with Kibaki as president and Odinga as prime minister. Power-sharing has not worked well, though, and government has been at a standstill. Now Kenya's women have taken the initiative. To protest the continued political bickering, thousands of them have embarked on a week-long sex strike. Mrs. Odinga has declared her intention to join the strike. Mrs. Kibaki has not been heard from as we go to press. Since polygamy is tolerated in Kenya, the strike must have led to some interesting domestic scenes. In any case, let's hope it had some effect, and that Kenyans will be spared more troubles like those of a year and a half ago.

JUDY EDDY/WENN.COM

■ Who is Carrie Prejean? "A dumb bitch" with "half a brain," says gay gossip columnist Perez Hilton. "An ignorant disgrace" who "makes me sick to my stomach," says E! News anchor Giuliana Rancic. Keith Olbermann and Michael Musto, another gay gossip columnist, meanwhile discuss her breast implants on MSNBC. Carrie Prejean earned this obloquy by telling Hilton, a judge of the Miss USA pageant who had asked her what she, as Miss California, thought of gay marriage, that "marriage should be between a man and a woman. No offense to anybody out there, but that's how I was raised." If you do not embrace same-sex marriage, you will be dragged through the mud. This is the operational position of the same-sex-marriage movement, and of its well-wishers in the media. If this is how they behave when the issue is still up for public discussion, think how they will conduct themselves when they hold the whip of the law.

CALIFORNIA

■ In the Catholic Church's view, abortion is a grave injustice, and support for its legality a sin at least as great as support for racial discrimination. So when Notre Dame invited President Obama to give the commencement address and pick up an honorary degree, many pro-lifers worried that the institution was signaling that it did not take its professed view of abortion all that seriously. The scholar Mary Ann Glendon was also invited to receive a prestigious award and to speak, briefly, on the same occasion. She balked for two reasons: The university had flouted the bishops' guidelines about honoring supporters of the abortion license, and it was using her to deflect the resulting criticism. Glendon has always been willing to engage her opponents on abortion (as on other issues) with fairness and civility. But no institution can begin a fruitful engagement if it does not first know where it stands—something Glendon understands even if Notre Dame does not.

■ The *Harvard Crimson* often has scoops in the local sphere, and one is to have recorded the opinion of the university's Islamic chaplain Taha Abdul-Basser that there is "great wisdom" in killing Muslim apostates even if that makes some people in the modern world "uncomfortable." Actually, "chaplain" sounds far too Christian a description. Asked to comment, Harvard Muslims are quoted condemning Abdul-Basser, but several refuse to give their names for fear of the reaction of the Muslim community. That tells you even more than Abdul-Basser's retrograde passions do.

• Hydrophobic Coat Repels Moisture, Fog & Water
• Optical-Grade AR Anti-Reflective Coating Cuts Both Direct & Reflective Glare
• Sea/Salt-Water-Resistant Coat Repels Abrasion
Eagle Eyes®
• Highest Color, Contrast, Definition Capabilities
• Ergonomically Designed – Perfect Fit for Every Facial Profile
• Crack Resistant –Impact Resistant
• Patented, Polarized Apollo-Gold™ Triple-Filter Lens Technology Offers 100% UVA, UVB & Blue-Light Protection, Maximum Clarity & Definition
• "No-Smudge" "No Fingerprint" Oleophobic Coat
• Anti-Static "EMI-Guard" Coat Repels Dust & Irritating Particles – Great for Sensitive Eyes!

One Giant Leap for Eye Protection

Eagle Eyes® Apollo Gold™ sunglasses are quite simply the most advanced eye protection ever created

Spacewalking astronauts don't care about designer labels. You can't be concerned about fashion when floating 186 miles above the Earth, hurtling through space at 10 times the speed of a bullet. It's much more important to know that your equipment is up to the job.

Even though a mission to repair the International Space Station seems more dramatic than a morning commute, your personal safety is no less important. That's why Eagle Eyes® is proud to introduce the advanced **Apollo Gold**™ optical sunglasses, developed from original NASA Optical Lens Technology.

Unfiltered direct sunlight has always been a problem for test pilots and astronauts. That's why, to protect their eyes, their faceplates require the most advanced optics ever invented.

Eye-protection inspired by nature. Plenty of companies make aviator sunglasses, but few understand aviation like NASA. From microchips to GPS, NASA's team of scientists have been behind some of the greatest technological advances of the last 50 years.

NASA scientists looked to nature for a solution to eye protection which led them to their studies on how eagles can simultaneously distinguish their prey from their surroundings with utmost precision, while protecting their eyes from sunlight.

Who Better to Know About the Best UV Eye Protection than America's Astronauts?

"I have worn the EAGLE EYES® brand for years and depend upon their superb capabilities in UV eye protection, glare reduction and vision-enhancement."

— WALTER CUNNINGHAM, APOLLO-7 ASTRONAUT

NASA scientists independently replicated this same technology into Eagle Eyes® **Apollo Gold**™ optical sunglasses, serious sun-protection that offers **12 distinct performance levels** in a single lens. Eagle Eyes® **Apollo Gold**™ patented, polarized lens technology was tested to enhance vision while protecting from the sun's harmful UVA, UVB radiation and blue-light.

Developed from Original NASA Optic Technology, EAGLE EYES® is the ONLY Sunglass Lens Certified by the SPACE FOUNDATION for UVR & Blue-Light Protection

CERTIFIED SPACE TECHNOLOGY

Unparalleled clarity. With their patented triple filtering system, Eagle Eyes® reduces the blinding glare you may encounter while driving or enjoying outside activities. This technology produces unparalleled visual clarity, contrast and definition and blocks the harsh UV light while enhancing the colors of your environment. All of this with a "no smudge"/no fingerprint oleophobic coating.

The Eagle Eyes® **Apollo Gold**™ frames feature an aggressive ergonomic design with 2X scratch-resistant coatings, affording maximum durability while maintaining crack and impact resistance. You will also receive one soft zipper case and a micro-fiber cleaning pouch & cloth with anti-fog cleaner so you can carry and protect your Eagle Eyes® in style. Plus, if you are not thrilled with the Eagle Eyes® **Apollo Gold**™ technology, simply return them within 30 days for a full refund of your purchase price.

FREE Fisher® Space Pen with your order—a $25.00 value!

- Sealed, pressurized ink cartridge
- Developed for NASA and used by America's astronauts
- Writes underwater, at any angle, and even upside down!

Not Available in Stores

SHOP & COMPARE! Over $300 worth of lens & frame technology.

Eagle Eyes® *Apollo Gold*™ Sunglasses ~~$295~~

Now *only* $95 +S&H

Includes FREE Limited Edition Engraved Anniversary Fisher® Space Pen with order.

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

1-888-306-7178

Promotional Code EAG128-01
Please mention this code when you call.

Stauer

14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. EAG128-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

America Celebrates **50 Years** *of Space Technology!*

■ One recent Sunday, at a flea market in Waterford, Mich., Dorothy Utley was selling knickknacks with her pet Chihuahua, Tinker Bell, at her side. Then a sudden gust of wind, estimated at 70 mph, lifted Tinker Bell up in the air just like her Disney namesake, snapped her leash, and carried her off. “She was last seen air-bound, heading south over Dixie Highway,” the *Detroit News* reported. While you don’t need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows, finding out where it blew a six-pound Chihuahua is a different matter, it seems: After offering a reward, putting up posters, and scouring the flea-market grounds with a large group of helpers, Utley and her husband, Lavern, finally consulted a pet psychic, who directed them to a field three-quarters of a mile away. Sure enough, the tempest-tossed Tinker Bell was there, tired and dirty but very happy to be found. The Utleys and their canine aviatrix went on *Oprah*, but the biggest winner was the pet psychic, Lorrie Woolums, whose rather specialized business, the *News* reports, “skyrocketed with Tinker Bell’s discovery.” It’s an ill wind.

■ Krystian Zimerman is a Polish pianist, and one of the best musicians in the world. He also has no use for the United States. And at Disney Hall in Los Angeles, he called it quits where America is concerned. As the *Los Angeles Times* put it, Zimerman “indicated that he could no longer play in a country whose military wants to control the whole world. ‘Get your hands off of my country,’ he said.” And which countries have had their “hands on” Poland? Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia—both of which America opposed mightily. Anyway, we will see whether Zimerman makes good on his pledge. In 2004, a Scottish conductor, Donald Runnicles, who works in San Francisco and New York, said that he would leave the country if Americans reelected Bush. They did, and he didn’t. As we remarked at the time, “Another broken campaign promise.”

John Earl Haynes, Harvey Klehr and Alexander Vassiliev
Spies
The Rise and Fall of the KGB in America

■ Readers may recall how I. F. Stone was lionized during his long, laureled life. “Izzy” was beloved as the journalist’s journalist: iconoclastic, independent, truth-devoted. He went wherever the facts were, without fear or favor. And he was forever challenging the “Cold War mentality” with which Americans were afflicted. Of course, conservatives charged that he was a com-symp, or worse. But that’s what McCarthyites always did, right? Now John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, the foremost historians of the American experience with Communism, have published a book called *Spies: The Rise and Fall of the KGB in America*. They have done so with a third historian, Alexander Vassiliev, formerly of the KGB. And they present proof positive that Izzy Stone was a spy. For Stalin. And a lifelong liar. Of course—just as the “McCarthyites” always said.

■ Gov. Sarah Palin’s youngest child, Trig, has Down Syndrome. In the fever swamps of the Left, it is bruited about that Trig is not Palin’s child at all—but the offspring of her eldest daughter, Bristol. Some have also claimed that Trig is the product of Todd Palin, the governor’s husband, and Bristol—in other words, that he is the product of incestuous rape. Bristol recently had a baby, and the websites of both *Vanity Fair* and MSNBC referred to that infant as “Sarah Palin’s first acknowledged grandchild.” The network is as partisan as Colonel McCormick, and twice as nasty.

■ A world event occurred in April—on a TV show called *Britain’s Got Talent*. A middle-aged woman from Scotland, Susan Boyle, came on to sing “I Dreamed a Dream” from *Les Misérables*. She could not have looked more unremarkable: dowdy, double-chinned, forlorn. She had had a caged-in life, deprived of normal pleasures. She mainly took care of her mother, who died at 91. And she now lived with a cat named Pebbles. Her main joy, it appeared, had been singing in church, and occasionally in karaoke bars. On the television show, she sang beautifully and touchingly: and the audience went wild. So would a world audience, thanks to web videos. Before you knew it, there were naysayers: people who tried to throw cold water on Boyle’s success, and even claimed she had no talent. Baloney. Hundreds of millions are gaga over this plain but extraordinary Scottish lady, and they are quite right.

POLITICS

Obama’s Year Zero

It is no accident that “hitting the reset button” became one of the regnant clichés of the early weeks of the Obama administration. The president spent his first 100 days acting as though he had the power to make the world anew: to turn enemies into allies by the force of his personal charm and his self-presentation as a break with the sordid past; to re-create the automotive industry, the energy sector, and the economy in general along lines he considered more fruitful and pleasing; to ignore any vestiges of conservatism still present in the populace; to dismiss any criticism as the grunting of dinosaurs. It is Year Zero of a pallid revolution.

Sen. Charles Schumer of New York recently expressed the key political assumption of the governing Democrats with a frankness that he might not have ventured before the election: The era in which traditional values, a strong foreign policy, and skepticism about overgovernment were winning issues is over. If that assumption is correct, then Obama will move from triumph to triumph.

If it is incorrect, however, Obama’s hubris will prove his undoing. He has given the conservative portions of the country a new energy and a new unity. His apology tour and his preening over “torture” have worried hawks. He has signaled his aggressive intent toward social conservatives by opening the door to human cloning, naming a pro-abortion extremist as his secretary of health and human services, and rescinding rules to protect the conscience rights of pro-life health-care workers. He has healed divisions among economic conservatives by proposing to raise both taxes and spending.

The president is still personally popular, and that popularity may persist for some time. Even people who have misgivings about his program are rooting for him to succeed, because of both the recession and his race. But some of his top legislative initiatives are in trouble. Card check is dead in its present form, and cap-and-trade is on life support. There is no evidence that Obama's popularity is transferring to congressional Democrats.

We cannot say whether the conservative resurgence for which we hope will come to pass. If it does, President Obama will deserve much of the credit.

THE LAW

After Souter

It has been widely noted that Supreme Court justice David Souter proved a disappointment to the Republicans who had supported his confirmation in 1990. The cause of this disappointment was not that Souter turned out to have a complex and nuanced jurisprudence that deviated from the party line. Nor was it that Souter had more respect for precedent than other Republican appointees—a laughable theory that various reporters have assayed in the days since Souter announced he would retire. Souter ended up being an extremely predictable vote for the left wing of the Court, and his attitude toward precedent depended mostly on whether precedent would yield liberal policy results.

More often than not, he took issues that the Constitution leaves to be decided by the democratic process and voted to impose liberal solutions. His votes on everything from school vouchers to gay rights to the death penalty to national-security law followed that pattern. His opinions were neither insightful nor eloquent nor otherwise memorable. He assumed vast imperial powers but issued his commands in a plodding bureaucratese.

The papers are now full of speculation about Souter's replacement, complete with fine distinctions between different species of liberals that will make almost no difference in how the eventual justice votes. President Obama says that he is looking for someone who will have "empathy" for, among others, single mothers and gays. He is not looking for someone with empathy for small-business owners: Empathy is simply a codeword for an inclination toward liberal activism. Obama announced during the campaign that he would also look for someone loyal to *Roe* v. *Wade* rather than to the Constitution it traduced. "News analyses" stress that Obama is a "pragmatist" who does not care about high-flown legal theories. Just so: He cares about getting another vote for liberal results.

Those of us who believe in the "theory of originalism"—what was once called, simply, "judging"—have little leverage. The Democratic Senate will be a rubber stamp for Obama. Republicans should nonetheless press for an extended debate about the extent to which judges have supplanted self-rule and the role of modern liberalism in that slow-motion coup. (Is there something else they would rather this Congress spent its time on?)

Republicans have grown attached to their own misbegotten theory of judges: that presidential picks deserve deference so long as they have the right credentials and no major ethical lapses. This political norm made sense in an era when judges stayed within their constitutional authority. In our time, it makes constitutionalist senators complicit in the erasure of the Founders' legacy. It doesn't even calm the waters. Republicans let President Clinton's Supreme Court appointees skate by with nearly unanimous consent, and in return got eight years of filibusters during the next GOP presidency.

Unless Obama does something truly shocking, such as appointing a liberal committed to following the original understanding of the Constitution and its amendments, the proper course for Republicans—inside and outside the Senate—is to build a case for saying no.

NATIONAL SECURITY

Tortured Position

For months, President Obama had talked of focusing on the future rather than the past when it came to the Bush administration's interrogation techniques. Then he released four previously classified legal memos, written by Bush officials, that sanctioned coercive methods. The release inevitably ignited a firestorm, with the Left demanding a truth commission and even prosecutions. It took just a few days for Obama to back off his determination to look ahead and to say instead that he was referring the matter—specifically the propriety of the work of the Bush lawyers—to his Justice Department (see Andy McCarthy elsewhere in this issue on the merits of this investigation).

The controversy has run a well-worn course. After 9/11, everyone wanted the government to do whatever it could, within the limits of the law, to protect us from another attack. Now that the terrorist threat seems to have receded, it's possible to turn on those who had to make excruciating choices in real time. Top members of Congress were briefed about the interrogation program as it was getting under way and, according to former representative Porter Goss, their concern was only that the CIA might not be getting the support it needed from Congress. Speaker Nancy Pelosi has resorted to hilariously shifting explanations in order to wiggle out of the fact that she was briefed about and didn't raise any objection to what are now portrayed by her supporters as war crimes.

The memos themselves are careful and sober, a testament to a society of laws trying to balance the imperative of protecting itself with its tradition of treating wartime captives humanely and within the boundaries of the law. Each technique was carefully parsed to determine whether it would cause "severe physical or mental pain or suffering." Several of the harshest methods—sleep deprivation, stress positions, and waterboarding—could easily constitute torture, depending on their application. This is why each was closely monitored by the CIA, and its legal limits delineated in the memos—literally down to the second in the case of waterboarding.

This simulated drowning is the most controversial technique, and understandably so. On one hand, it has been used by some of history's nastiest governments; on the other, members of the U.S. military have been subjected to it as a routine part of survival training. Resorting to it could be justified only in the most exigent circumstances, with the most valuable captives—exactly why only three al-Qaeda captives were waterboarded, in the early days after 9/11.

Top intelligence officials all say the CIA program worked. Memos outlining what intelligence was gained through interrogation have, conveniently enough for Obama, not been released. Of course, the success of the methods is one of the premises of the current debate. If they and other measures had failed, we'd be having another debate entirely—on why we hadn't done more.

POLITICS II

D., Himself

ARLEN SPECTER belongs to a type familiar to Congress: the time-serving hack devoid of any principle save arrogance. He has spent three decades in the Senate but is associated with no great cause, no prescient warning, no landmark legislation. Yet he imagines that the Senate needs his wisdom and judgment for a sixth term. He joined the Republican party out of expediency in the 1960s, and leaves it out of expediency today.

Those who attribute his defection to the rise of social conservatism are deluding themselves. It is not as though he has been a reliable vote for any other type of conservatism. He has stood apart from the mainstream of his party on welfare reform, trade, taxes, affirmative action, judicial appointments, tort reform, and national-security law. The issue that finally caused an irreparable breach with Republicans was the stimulus bill. (Those who say the party has moved too far to the right should tell us in what year Republicans would have blessed a $787 billion stimulus.)

Some Republicans are blaming Pat Toomey for pushing Specter out of the party by challenging him from the right. But it is not Toomey's fault that Specter is out of step with Pennsylvania Republicans. Whatever they think of the prudence of his challenge at the time he announced it, conservatives should be rooting for Toomey—a smart and principled conservative—now.

Reporters are lazily saying that the Democrats will now have a filibuster-proof majority in the Senate, but in truth whether that majority holds will depend on the issue. Specter's defection by itself will not make it possible for Democrats to pass their bill to effectively abolish the secret ballot in unionizing elections, or to enact a cap on carbon emissions. We can safely assume that the Republicans' task, already difficult, just got harder. They will have less room to play an inside game of parliamentary maneuvers, and will therefore need even more to appeal to the public at large. They will, that is, have to work to make bad ideas unpopular ideas as well. Which is what their principal task was already.

We are not sure why self-respecting liberals would vote to have Specter as their representative. Most Democrats believe the country is with them and Pennsylvania even more so; why not have a true believer in the seat? We rarely give Democratic primary voters advice and still less frequently see it taken. But here's hoping that Pennsylvania Democrats become the second party to turn down Specter's dubious services.

IN MEMORIAM

Quarterback Jack

A DEMOCRAT tells the story. Sometime in the 1980s, there was a big GOP bash in D.C. The Democrat (a neighbor) watched the glittering elephants arrive, one of them being Jack Kemp, who, alone among the guests, stopped to chat up the cops on duty outside before going in. He did it with the manly bonhomie of an ex-jock and the ease of a born politician. Oh, no, thought the Democrat gloomily, another Republican with the common touch.

The other Republican the Kemp-watcher had in mind was Ronald Reagan, and the two men's careers were intertwined. As a young congressman from the suburbs of Buffalo, Kemp was instrumental in converting Reagan to supply-side economics in the late 1970s. He backed Reagan in the 1980 election and backed his program to the hilt in the House—more strongly, sometimes, than Reagan himself. Many conservatives (including the editors of this magazine) saw him as Reagan's heir.

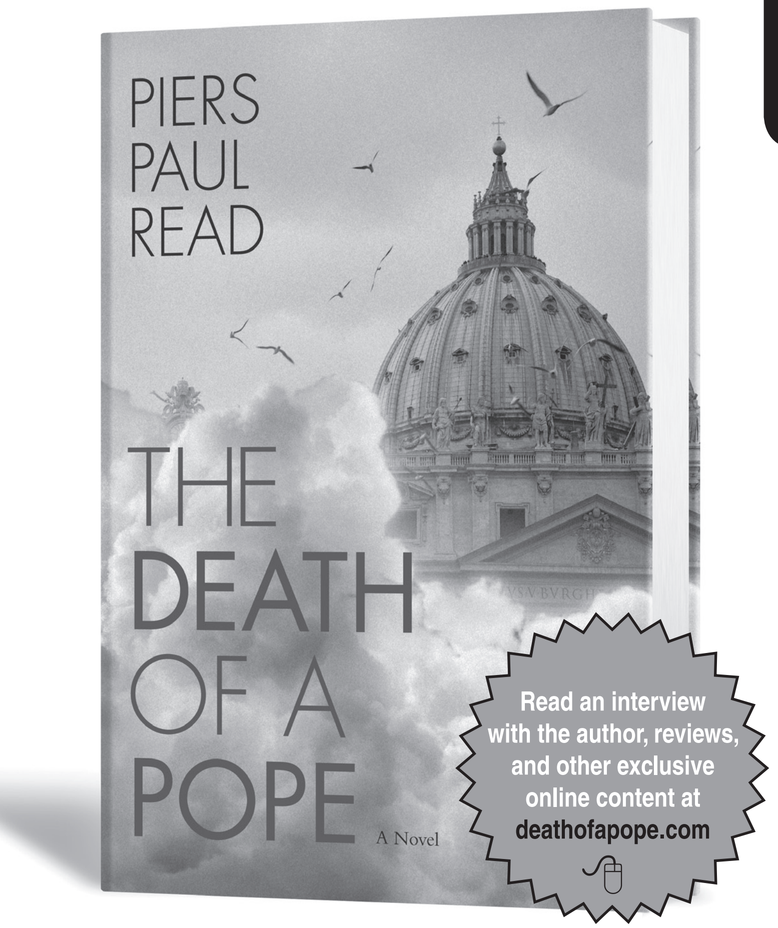
Kemp was an autodidact. He focused on sports in his early life, becoming quarterback of the Buffalo Bills in the old AFL. Yet he nourished a nascent interest in politics by reading, reading, reading—WFB, Ayn Rand, economics, history. He honored ideas with the fervor of a young lover. His second passion, equal to his devotion to tax cuts, was his concern for black advancement. This was part conviction, part experience: As his friend Newt Gingrich liked to say, Jack had showered with people whom most Republicans never meet. Kemp believed that the party of Lincoln had to regain its role as the champion of black America. The welfare state had not completed the civil-rights revolution; free-enterprise programs targeted at the inner city (such as enterprise zones) would do the trick instead.

Kemp never completed the touchdown drive of his career. When he sought the Republican presidential nomination in 1988, he was squeezed between Vice President George H. W. Bush and the Rev. Pat Robertson. Bush tapped Kemp to be his secretary of housing and urban development, where he served loyally even after Bush abandoned the tax-cutting gospel. When Bob Dole tapped Kemp to be his running mate in 1996, it came as a shock—Kemp already seemed emeritus—and indeed his campaign did the ticket no good and him little credit.

He had his flaws: a vein of pep-talk oratory that bled and bled; a tendency to pat himself on the back for his racial views (the wages of virtue can be as corrupting as the wages of sin); an indifference to the effects of 25 (and 35, and soon 45) years of unrestricted immigration, legal and illegal. But he was a bright and earnest man, and a great friend of NR—and did anyone else ever have his enthusiasm? Churchill said that being with FDR was like opening a bottle of champagne. Being with Jack Kemp was like chugging a can of Red Bull. How could someone so alive be gone? Yet it is so. R.I.P.

STEPHAN SAVOIA/AP

A PLOT TO **DESTROY** THE PAPACY... AND THE RACE TO **STOP** IT!



Read an interview with the author, reviews, and other exclusive online content at **deathofapope.com**

MORE PRAISE FOR **THE DEATH OF A POPE**

"*The Death of a Pope* is a faith-driven theological thriller, narrated by a storyteller of the first order—as refreshing as it is rare among the bedraggled ranks of contemporary novelists."
— **Joseph Pearce**, Author, *The Quest for Shakespeare*

"In *The Death of a Pope*, the versatile Piers Paul Read, who has distinguished himself in many genres, returns to what can be called the ecclesiastical thriller. If the mystery looks to the past to explain a crime already committed, the thriller aims to prevent something from happening. When that something is a terrorist act, planned for the Vatican, drama is assured... To say more would rob the reader of his pleasure. *The Death of a Pope* is a great Read—in every sense of the term."
— **Ralph McInerny**, Author, the *Father Dowling Mysteries*

"Piers Paul Read has managed to combine sheer storytelling power with great learning and insight about the inner workings of the Church to fashion an entertainment of the highest order. If John le Carré took on Vatican politics, his book of suspense might aspire to be much like this one."
— **Ron Hansen**, Author, *Mariette in Ecstasy* and *The Assassination of Jesse James by the Coward Robert Ford*

THE **DEATH** OF A **POPE** A NOVEL

PIERS PAUL READ

Juan Uriarte, a handsome and outspoken Spanish ex-priest, seems to be the model of nonviolence and compassion for the poor and downtrodden. So why is he on trial, accused of terrorist activities? His worldwide Catholic charitable outreach program is suspected of being a front for radicals. The trial is covered by Kate Ramsay, a young British reporter, who sets out to uncover the truth about Uriarte and his work. She travels with him to Africa to see his work first hand but soon finds herself attracted to him.

Meanwhile an international conspiracy is growing, one that reaches into the Vatican itself. When the death of Pope John Paul II brings the conclave that will elect Joseph Ratzinger as Pope Benedict XVI, a terrorist plot involving blackmail, subterfuge, and mass murder begins to fall into place... a plot that could spell disaster for the Catholic Church and the world.

Piers Paul Read's powerful tale combines vivid characters, high drama, love, betrayal, faith, and redemption in a story of intrigue, of church espionage, and an attempt to destroy the longest continuous government in the world—the Papacy. *The Death of a Pope* races toward an unexpected and unforgettable conclusion.

***DOP-H** . . . 216 pp, Sewn Hardcover, $21.95*

Order Online and Save up to 15%
Ignatius Press now offers a special, web-only discount on all items! For more information, go to **www.ignatius.com**.

ignatius press

WWW.IGNATIUS.COM
1-800-651-1531

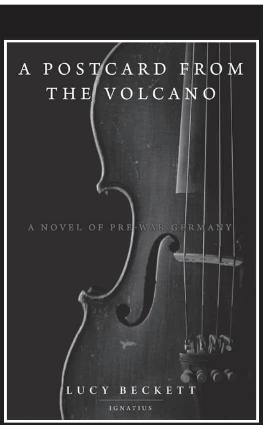
ALSO AVAILABLE FROM IGNATIUS PRESS

A POSTCARD FROM THE VOLCANO A NOVEL

Lucy Beckett

Beginning in 1914 and ending on the eve of World War II, this epic story follows the coming of age and early manhood of the Prussian aristocrat, Max von Hofmannswaldau. From the idyllic surroundings of his ancestral home to the streets of cosmopolitan Breslau menaced by the Nazi SS, Hofmannswaldau uncovers the truth about his own identity and confronts the modern ideologies that threaten the annihilation of millions of people.

***PV-P** . . . 520 pp, Sewn Softcover, $19.95*



"In this extraordinary work, the mysteries of faith and hope and love, prevailing in a time of radical fear, teach us how to find our own humanity."
— **Michael D. O'Brien**, Author, *Father Elijah*

"Written with beautiful prose, a great pleasure to read. A gigantic and splendid piece of work."
— **Thomas Howard**, Author, *Dove Descending: T S Eliot's Four Quartets*

Defeating Obamacare

Why and how

BY RAMESH PONNURU

ONE of the clichés of the moment is that it isn't 1993: Republicans are going to have a much harder time defeating liberal health-care plans than they did during the Clinton administration. While there is a lot of truth to that statement, let's not forget that 1993 didn't look like 1993 at first either. In the fall of that year, as Bill Clinton unveiled his proposal, the leader of the Senate Republicans, Bob Dole, was muttering incomprehensibly about making a deal. Well into the spring of 1994, Sen. Bob Bennett of Utah was saying that Republicans should work with Democrats to pass a health-care bill. Many businessmen favored the idea. It all fell apart anyway.

The Democrats are obsessed with not repeating the errors they made in the 1990s. But their approach to the issue still has serious vulnerabilities. Republicans should make every effort to defeat the plan the Democrats seem likely to propose. They might just succeed.

They should strive to defeat this plan, first and foremost, because it is a bad idea, one that would make American health care more expensive and less innovative. It may very well be an irreversible bad idea. Federal programs, no matter how dysfunctional, are very hard to get rid of.

They should work to defeat the Obama plan, second, because it is an important part of a bad project: bringing social democracy to these shores. Third, they should defeat it because its passage is likely to have the effect of ensconcing liberalism. It seems reasonable to assume that the more dependent they are on government—whether or not they like it—the more Americans will vote for the party of government. Fourth and least, defeating a liberal health bill would be an important tactical victory in the run-up to the 2010 elections.

The fundamental attack on the bill should be obvious: that it will raise middle-class taxes and disrupt the health-insurance arrangements of millions of people for the worse. But Republicans who want to prevail in this fight should be careful not to minimize, or seem to minimize, the flaws in American health care. It is true, as any number of conservative policy analysts have observed, that many of the "46 million uninsured" in this country are uninsured for only a short period of time. But it is also true that even more Americans—as many as 87 million—are uninsured for some portion of the time in any two-year period. That is a lot of people without secure health coverage. Besides, even Americans who have continuous coverage have many justified anxieties about health insurance, from its rising cost to the difficulty of taking it from job to job.

The last role Republicans should want in this debate is that of defenders of the status quo. They have to offer an alternative that makes health insurance more affordable and portable. The Democrats want to portray Republicans as "the party of no" on health care as on the rest of their agenda. Republicans should do all they can to avoid that trap.

To base an alternative on the alleged imperative to achieve "universal coverage" would be a different sort of trap. People can be given tools, such as tax credits, with which to purchase insurance, but they cannot be forced to buy it without an unhealthy increase in government involvement in health care. As Michael F. Cannon explains elsewhere in this issue, a mandate forcing individuals to get insurance would quickly devolve into a disguised pork-barrel program for medical providers, all of whom would want consumers to be forced to get coverage for their wares.

The public supports universal coverage, but that support is an inch deep. The Kaiser Foundation's polling has shown that people are unwilling to see either their own taxes or the deficit rise in order to finance it. Nor is an individual mandate popular. When people say that they want to achieve a goal but not any of the means to achieve it, they are not all that attached to the goal. Security, portability, and affordability—not universality—should be the goal of health-care reform.

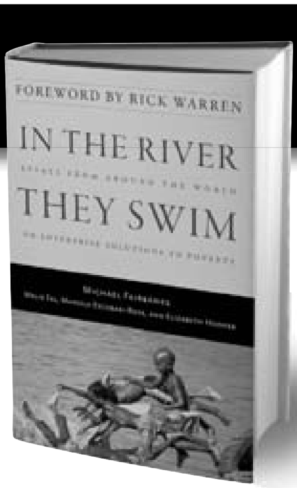
Some Republicans have convinced themselves that a mandate is necessary to keep the uninsured from "free riding." The theory is that uninsured people get emergency care that forces everyone else's premiums up. The evidence, though, suggests that this effect is minimal, and that getting rid of it is not worth the costs that a mandate would create. The fiscal motive for a mandate is, indeed, to free-ride off of one subset of the uninsured: young and healthy people. Insurance, particularly the high-end policies that some states require to be the only ones sold, is too pricey to be an attractive deal for them. We should make it a more attractive deal by making insurance cheaper, rather than force them to take a bad deal (even if they did vote for Obama).

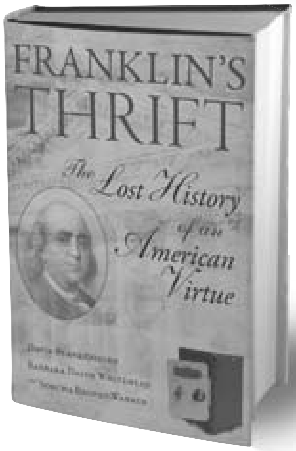
Another bad idea on the table is an "employer mandate" that would force employers to cover their employees. Either an employer mandate or an individual mandate is a disguised tax, paid out of workers' wages. As such it is a sneaky way to evade President Obama's pledge not to raise taxes on anyone who makes less than $250,000. Republicans ought to say so.

Wages were stagnant even when the economy was booming, largely because of health-care costs. All the more reason to avoid adding to that cost in the middle of a recession. The Democrats will of course claim that their plan is good for the economy because it relieves businesses of health-care costs. But redirecting a portion of wages that currently goes to employer-provided health insurance to go instead to taxes will not make American industry more competitive. Early signs are that the Democratic Congress is not going to push for any serious cost controls, which might (whatever their drawbacks) reduce the burden on wage earners.

Another issue Republicans should raise is abortion. People forget the extent to which controversy over abortion coverage helped sink the Clinton health-care proposal. It is inconceivable that the Democrats would advance a health-care plan that did not include abortion coverage, perhaps in some disguised manner. But taxpayer funding of abortion is unpopular. It may hurt the Democrats more than it did in the early 1990s. Public opinion on abortion has moved rightward since then. Obama has also tried assiduously to position himself as an abortion moderate.

Republicans will be tempted to spend a lot of time complaining about "reconciliation," the parliamentary maneuver Democrats are likely to use to enable them to pass a health-care bill with a simple majority of the Senate rather than with the 60 votes most legislation requires. But an overemphasis on this issue carries dangers. Most people know little and care less about the fine points of congressional procedure. Republicans


FOREWORD BY RICK WARREN
IN THE RIVER THEY SWIM
ESSAYS FROM AROUND THE WORLD ON ENTERPRISE SOLUTIONS TO POVERTY
Michael Fairbanks



New from Templeton Press

In the River They Swim
ESSAYS FROM AROUND THE WORLD
ON ENTERPRISE SOLUTIONS TO POVERTY

Edited by Michael Fairbanks, Malik Fal,
Marcela Escobari-Rose, and Elizabeth Hooper

Can we close the global development gap? Gathered here are the lessons learned by those on the frontlines of the war against poverty. Hear their inspiring stories.

978-1-59947-251-5 • hardcover • $24.95

Franklin's Thrift
THE LOST HISTORY OF AN AMERICAN VIRTUE

By David Blankenhorn, Barbara Dafoe Whitehead,
and Sorcha Brophy-Warren

Thrift is hip again! Trace the history of this resurgent American virtue.

978-1-59947-148-8 • hardcover • $24.95

1-800-621-2736
TEMPLETON PRESS
www.templetonpress.org

should take care not to give the impression that they are more interested in protecting their prerogatives than in improving health care. The focus should be on the flaws of the legislation, with the Democrats' tactics a subordinate concern. The message, that is, should be that they're muscling through a disastrous bill.

An asset Republicans ought to use in the fight over health care is the rhetoric that Candidate Obama used in 2008. During the primaries, Hillary Clinton attacked him from the left because his health-care proposal did not attain universal coverage. He countered that it would be wrong to force people to buy insurance they cannot afford. During the fall, he ran ad after ad slamming John McCain's plan (often dishonestly). His themes were that middle-class taxes should not be raised to pay for health-care reform and that people who like their existing coverage should not be forced to leave it. Since any Democratic plan is going to involve some type of middle-class tax hike and throw millions of people out of their current plans, the president's past rhetoric can and should be turned against him.

Most health-care lobbies, from insurers to the pharmaceutical companies, want a reform based on universal coverage: It means more customers and more subsidies. The Democrats' overwhelming power in Washington, D.C., is inducing even industries with misgivings to make nice: They would rather be invited to lunch than be on the menu. Heavily unionized businesses see reform as a way of offloading some of their costs onto the taxpayer. Republicans will not be able to count on interest groups to drive down public support for Obama's plan.

Instead, Republicans are going to have to persuade millions of Americans that they would be worse off under Obama's plan—that the Democrats are sacrificing middle-class interests to liberal ideology. A decline in public support will make the interest groups less supportive, peel off moderate Democrats, and make weak-kneed Republican senators less likely to strike a bad deal. It is entirely possible that Obama's plan will hit its peak popularity the day it is announced. Are Republicans certain to defeat it? Not even close. Is a Republican victory feasible? Yes. **NR**

Socialized Failure

Dissecting health-care data from Britain, Canada, and elsewhere

BY JOHN C. GOODMAN

THE health-care systems of all developed countries face three unrelenting problems: rising costs, inadequate quality, and incomplete access to care. A slew of recent articles, published mainly in medical journals, suggest that the health-care systems of other countries are superior to ours on all these fronts. Yet the articles are at odds with a substantial economic literature.

What follows is a brief review of the evidence. As other writers demonstrate elsewhere in this issue, the American health-care system has plenty of problems. But it is not inferior to other developed countries' systems—and we should therefore not be looking to these systems, most of which are characterized by heavy government intervention, for inspiration.

Does the U.S. Spend More on Health Care?

Taken at face value, international statistics show that the United States spends more than twice as much per person on health care as the average developed country. But these statistics are misleading. Other countries are far more aggressive than we are at disguising and shifting costs—for example, by using the power of government purchase to artificially suppress the incomes of doctors, nurses, and hospital personnel. This makes their aggregate outlays look smaller when all that has really happened is that part of the cost has been shifted from one group (patients and taxpayers) to another (health-care providers). This is equivalent to taxing doctors, nurses, or some other group so that others may pay less for their care.

Normal market forces have been so suppressed throughout the developed world that the prices paid for medical services rarely reflect the services' actual cost. As a result, adding all these prices together produces aggregate numbers in which one can have little confidence. One gets a better measure of how much countries spend by looking at the real resources used; and by that measure, the U.S. system is pretty good. For example, we use fewer doctors than the average developed country to produce the same or better outcomes. We also use fewer nurses and fewer hospital beds, make fewer physician visits, and spend fewer days in the hospital. About the only thing we use more of is technology. (See below.)

Spending *totals* aside, the U.S. has been neither worse nor better than the rest of the developed world at controlling spending *growth*. The average annual rate of growth of real per capita U.S. health-care spending is slightly below the OECD average over the past four decades (4.4 percent versus 4.5 percent). It appears that other developed countries are traveling down the same spending path we are.

Are U.S. Health Outcomes Worse?

Critics point to the fact that U.S. life expectancy is in the middle of the pack among developed countries, and that our infant-mortality rate is among the highest. But are these the right measures? Within the U.S., life expectancy at birth varies greatly between racial and ethnic groups, from state to state, and across counties. These differences are thought to reflect such lifestyle choices as diet, exercise, and smoking. Infant mortality varies by a factor of two or three across racial and ethnic lines, and from city to city and state to state, for reasons apparently having little to do with health care.

All too often, the heterogeneous population of the United States is compared with the homogeneous populations of European countries. A state such as Utah compares favorably with almost any developed country. Texas, with its high minority population, tends to compare unfavorably. But these outcomes have almost nothing to do with the doctors and hospitals in the two states.

Mr. Goodman is the founder, president, and CEO of the National Center for Policy Analysis. A fuller survey of these and similar data is available at www.ncpa.org.

AMERICA'S FIRST SILVER DOLLAR

Larger than actual size of 39 mm

Own the Dollar that helped Win America's Independence!

Most Americans would expect to see an authentic Revolutionary War treasure from the 1700's only behind glass in a museum. Now, thanks to a recent discovery of these coins in a centuries old shipwreck, you can actually own America's First Silver Dollar!

GLEAMING SILVER WITH A STORY TO TELL

Struck in the New World between 1772 and 1821 in 90.3% fine silver, these Spanish colonial "8 Royals" were authorized by the Continental Congress upon the recommendation of Thomas Jefferson as America's first official coinage. Widely circulated throughout the 13 Colonies, they were used to help fund the American Revolutionary War and earned the title of "America's First Silver Dollar."

LARGER THAN A U.S. SILVER DOLLAR

Accepted as legal tender in the U.S. until 1857, each of these hefty silver dollars weighs 27 grams and is 39 mm in diameter. From Europe to China, throughout the Caribbean, and across the 13 Colonies, these silver dollars were readily accepted for trade due to their heft and high silver value.

IMAGINE WHO HELD THESE COINS

Each of these amazing silver dollars makes history come alive. Coins like these were spent in taverns by patriots celebrating America's victory over the British in 1783. Was this the coin George Washington tossed across the Potomac River or used to purchase badly needed supplies for his army?

OFFERED ELSEWHERE FOR AS MUCH AS $295!

America's First Silver Dollars have sold nationally for $100 to $295 each. Now, thanks to this exclusive shipwreck treasure discovery, we are able to offer these historic coins for just $49 (plus s&h)—our best price ever! Or save even more by reserving 5 or more for friends and loved ones for just $44.00 each.

Your *America's First Silver Dollar* was minted in 1821 or earlier and will come to you mounted in a handsome full color display case. The display panel describes the fascinating story of this classic American Silver Dollar. A signed Certificate of Authenticity accompanies each coin.

Order Risk-Free. **Your satisfaction is assured with our full 30-day money back guarantee. Hundreds of thousands have ordered from us with confidence since 1974.**

Call Now Toll-Free 24 Hours a Day

1-888-277-8341

Offer Code FSD124. Please provide this code when you call.

ALL Major Credit Cards Accepted
We can also accept your check by phone. To order by mail call for details.

GOVMINT.COM
YOUR ONE BEST SOURCE FOR COINS WORLDWIDE

Note: GovMint.com is a private distributor of government and private coin and medallic issues and is not affiliated with the United States Government. Prices and availability subject to change without notice. ©GovMint.com, 2009

BBB® *Accredited Member Since 1985*

It makes far more sense to look at the diseases and conditions to which we know medical science can make a real difference—cancer, diabetes, and hypertension, for example. The largest international study to date found that the five-year survival rate for all types of cancer among both men and women was higher in the U.S. than in Europe. There is a steeper increase in blood pressure with advancing age in Europe, and a 60 percent higher prevalence of hypertension. The aggressive treatment offered to U.S. cardiac patients apparently improves survival and functioning relative to that of Canadian patients. Fewer health- and disability-related problems occur among U.S. spinal-cord-injury patients than among Canadian and British patients.

Do Patients in Other Countries Have Better Access to Care?

Britain has only one-fourth as many CT scanners per capita as the U.S., and one-third as many MRI scanners. The rate at which the British provide coronary-bypass surgery or angioplasty to heart patients is only one-fourth the U.S. rate, and hip replacements are only two-thirds the U.S. rate. The rate for treating kidney failure (dialysis or transplant) is five times higher in the U.S. for patients between the ages of 45 and 84, and nine times higher for patients 85 years or older.

Overall, nearly 1.8 million Britons are waiting for hospital or outpatient treatments at any given time. In 2002–2004, dialysis patients waited an average of 16 days for permanent blood-vessel access in the U.S., 20 days in Europe, and 62 days in Canada. In 2000, Norwegian patients waited an average of 133 days for hip replacement, 63 days for cataract surgery, 160 days for a knee replacement, and 46 days for bypass surgery after being approved for treatment. Short waits for cataract surgery produce better outcomes, prompt coronary-artery bypass reduces mortality, and rapid hip replacement reduces disability and death. Studies show that only 5 percent of Americans wait more than four months for surgery, compared with 23 percent of Australians, 26 percent of New Zealanders, 27 percent of Canadians, and 36 percent of Britons.

Do Other Countries Do a Better Job of Delivering Preventive Care?

If people have to pay for care directly, it is often claimed, they will be inclined to skimp on preventive care—care that can catch diseases in their early stages, saving lives and money. Yet the proportion of middle-aged Canadian women who have never had a mammogram is twice that of the U.S., and three times as many Canadian women have never had a Pap smear. Fewer than a fifth of Canadian men have ever been tested for prostate-specific antigen, compared with about half of American men. Only one in ten adult Canadians has had a colonoscopy, compared with about a third of adult Americans.

These differences in screening may partly explain why the mortality rate in Canada is 25 percent higher for breast cancer, 18 percent higher for prostate cancer, and 13 percent higher for colorectal cancer. In addition, while half of all diabetics have high blood pressure, it is controlled in 36 percent of U.S. cases, compared with only 9 percent of cases in Canada.

Studies show that only 5 percent of Americans wait more than four months for surgery, compared with 23 percent of Australians, 26 percent of New Zealanders, 27 percent of Canadians, and 36 percent of Britons.

Do the Uninsured in the U.S. Lack Access to Health Care?

Of the 46 million nominally uninsured, about 12 million are eligible for such public programs as Medicaid and the State Children's Health Insurance Program (S-CHIP). They can usually enroll even at the time of treatment, arguably making them de facto insured. About 17 million of the uninsured are living in households with annual incomes of at least $50,000. More than half of those earn more than $75,000, suggesting that they are uninsured by choice.

Like unemployment, uninsurance is usually transitory: 75 percent of uninsured spells last one year or less, and 91 percent last two years or less. Although the fraction of the population with health insurance rises and falls with the business cycle, it has been fairly constant for the past two decades, despite an unprecedented influx of immigrants with an uninsurance rate 2.5 times that of the native-born population. Guaranteed-issue laws, state high-risk pools, and retroactive Medicaid eligibility make it increasingly easy to obtain insurance after becoming ill.

Are Low-Income Families More Disadvantaged in the U.S. System?

Aneurin Bevan, father of the British National Health Service (NHS), declared, "The essence of a satisfactory health service is that rich and poor are treated alike, that poverty is not a disability and wealth is not advantaged." More than 30 years after the NHS's founding, an official task force found little evidence that it had equalized health-care access. Another study, 20 years later, concluded that access had become more unequal in the years between the two studies.

In Canada, the wealthy and powerful have significantly greater access to medical specialists than do the less well-connected poor. High-profile patients enjoy more frequent services, shorter waiting times, and greater choice of specialists. Moreover, non-elderly, white, low-income Canadians are 22 percent more likely to be in poor health than their U.S. counterparts.

In developed countries generally, among people with similar health conditions, high earners use the system more intensely, and use costlier services, than do low earners. It seems likely that the personal characteristics that ensure success in a market economy also enhance success in bureaucratic systems. **NR**

WARNING: IS YOUR MEMORY FADING?

Breakthrough medical research reveals "forgotten moments" may be caused by "brain starvation"

You may be able to avoid long-term issues if you act before it's too late. Leading medical researchers reveal discovery that triggers body's own production of mental "superfuel" and may help reverse the damage caused by stress and age.

Do you remember your first kiss but not where you left your car keys? You're not alone. Millions are discovering that as they age, their short term memory and mental sharpness seem to be slipping. The cause of these inconvenient "gaps" in memory sits deep inside your brain, among the billions of tiny nerve connections. New brain cell growth starts dropping after age 25, and then dramatically after 50, starting a downward spiral that can lead to everything from those frustrating "senior moments" to even more severe memory breakdowns.

Downward Memory Spiral is Reversible

Studies have shown that the efficiency of brain cells declines after years of free radical damage and stress. It was long believed that as we got older, memory problems were inevitable. But medical experts have revealed that **the downward memory spiral is reversible.** Compelling new research shows that there's a simple way to stimulate new brain cell growth that can boost your memory, improve your focus and restore your mind's mental sharpness.

Achieve Peak Brain Performance

Challenging mental games aren't enough to build a better brain. Your mind is the most complex and demanding organ in your body. It's also a high-performance supercomputer that requires the right chemical "foods" to perform at its peak.

Are you starving your brain?

If you have experienced one or more of these symptoms, you may benefit from Neurostin™.

☑ Do you forget names or dates?
☑ Do you sometimes get confused?
☑ Do you find it difficult to do more than one thing at a time?
☑ Do you often forget why you walked into certain rooms?
☑ Do you find it hard to concentrate?

One of the brain's most important nutrients is choline. Choline is a substance in our body that our brain desperately needs to help manufacture new cells and improve vital neurotransmitters (the basic processes of thinking and memory). Until now, it was believed that there was no way to safely and naturally produce this remarkable mental "superfuel." But after years of extensive research and testing, microbiologists and brain researchers at the University of North Carolina, in England at Newcastle General Hospital, and at the prestigious Weizmann Institute of Science in Israel have developed a way to help boost choline production. Their breakthrough formula also helps stimulate new brain cell growth, leading to a significant improvement in memory, concentration and helps clear stubborn "brain fog."

How Neurostin™ Works

- **Provides the building blocks** of nerve cell membranes to promote optimal brain cell activity
- **Assists in the production** of acetylcholine, a vital component for improved mental performance
- **Helps relax blood vessels** to increase blood flow for maximum nutrient and oxygen delivery
- **Helps dispatch antioxidants** which inhibit free radical oxidation of nerve cell membranes

Improve Memory and Focus Without a Prescription

This exciting breakthrough discovery is now available in a ***time-release capsule*** called Neurostin™ Complex-Memory Pill that is available without a prescription to anyone looking to sharpen their memory. Neurostin™ contains a unique combination of antioxidants, botanicals and nutrients to support critical processes for good cognitive function. Its high concentration of specific brain-boosting ingredients helps improve the synthesis and transmission of neurotransmitters necessary for improved mental clarity. The Neurostin™ formula is completely safe and contains no stimulants, ephedra or caffeine.

Protect Your Memory Now Before It's Too Late

Why wait until your lack of focus or forgetfulness creates an unsafe situation? Today it was your reading glasses, but tomorrow it could be the stove. You forget a phone number today, but tomorrow it could be where you parked your car at the mall.

Just as important is the personal toll that a fading memory can take on your family and friends. Don't you owe it to them and your future to take your brain's fitness as seriously as you do your heart health? It couldn't be easier. In as little as 30 days you can get back the mental sharpness and focus you had when you were 20 years younger! Act today and unlock your mind's true potential!

Having Trouble Finding Neurostin?

The makers of Neurostin™ are so confident that they want to offer you a 30-Day Risk Free Trial, so you can experience the results firsthand.

To get your supply of Neurostin™ risk free, for just a small shipping and processing fee call 888-429-1678.

Dietary Supplement
NEUROSTIN

Call 888-429-1678 Today For Your 30 Day Risk-Free Trial of Neurostin™ Complex-Memory

Mention Promotional Code NU100008

www.NeurostinDirect.com

These statements have not been evaluated by the FDA. This product is not intended to treat, diagnose, cure, mitigate or prevent any disease. Return postage may be required. Neurostin is not endorsed, associated or affiliated in any way with Newcastle Hospital, UNC, or the Weizmann Institute.

Torture Is a State of Mind

Mens rea and the jurisprudence of coercive interrogations

BY ANDREW C. McCARTHY

It's not torture, the government lawyers insisted, because torture is a "specific intent" crime. This was in a controversial discussion of *mens rea*, the element of criminal intent in the absence of which an act, no matter how brutal, cannot be a crime.

In each penal statute, the legislature prescribes the required state of mind that prosecutors must prove. Most of the time, it is "general intent"—the simple awareness that a result is virtually certain to follow from the charged act. If I swing my fist at your head, I know that I will at least put you in fear of being struck, and in pain if I succeed in striking you; I've thus committed the general-intent crime of assault.

But torture is different. The federal law against it, which is modeled on the Convention Against Torture (CAT) ratified by the U.S. in 1994, is invoked only when a government agent commits an act "specifically intended to inflict severe physical or mental pain or suffering." Exactingly construing this statute, the government lawyers maintained that "knowledge that pain and suffering will be the certain outcome of conduct may be sufficient for a finding of general intent but it is not enough for a finding of specific intent." To prove torture, a prosecutor would have to show beyond a reasonable doubt not just a general intent to engage in abusive treatment, but specific intent: "the additional deliberate and conscious purpose of accomplishing" severe pain and suffering. Absent a motive specifically to torture the victim, there is no torture even if great pain and suffering result.

Sure, you're thinking, there he goes, quoting the usual graduates of the Marquis de Sade Law School who rubber-stamped the Bush administration's torture of top-tier al-Qaeda detainees. You know the ones: former government lawyers like Jay Bybee (now a federal appellate judge) and John Yoo (now a Cal-Berkeley law professor). In fact, the passages above come from the judges of the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, writing in an opinion of the full court in *Pierre* v. *Attorney General of the United States*, only a year ago.

Pierre involved a refugee under an order for deportation to his native Haiti for imprisonment. He fought removal under the CAT. Pierre had various maladies, including an esophagus injury that required a special liquid diet. He claimed he would be subjected to excruciating pain and die if sent to a Haitian jail. The Justice Department did not seriously dispute Pierre's allegations. It countered that, even assuming their validity, there could be no torture, because a government official's knowledge that an action, such as denying treatment, "might cause severe pain and suffering" is insufficient under governing law.

Thus squarely presented was the question of what *mens rea* must be proved in order to establish the crime of torture. By a 10–3 margin, the judges sided with the government, holding that unless a motive to inflict severe pain and suffering is established there is no legal case of torture. The majority judges reasoned that their conclusion was compelled by federal-court precedents and the ratification history of the CAT, wherein the political branches went to great lengths to limit torture to purposeful and heinous abuse.

That is, one of the highest courts in the United States was asked to explain the legal contours of torture and the defenses that would be available to officials accused of torture. Those are the same questions the CIA—concerned about liability for employing harsh interrogation tactics—put to Bush-administration policymakers in 2002. In turn, those policymakers sought guidance from the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel. At OLC, Bybee and Yoo studied much of the same law later scrutinized by the Third Circuit. Their conclusion—the one for which they and other Bush lawyers are now under criminal and ethics investigations by the Obama Justice Department—was exactly the same as the conclusion drawn by the Third Circuit in 2008: A government official can't be guilty of torture unless his motivation is to cause severe pain.

The symmetry between this finding and that of the "torture memos" was not lost on the appellate court. Indeed, the three judges in the minority pointed out that, in late 2004, the OLC had issued a memo withdrawing the 2002 Bybee/Yoo guidance (just in time for the confirmation hearing of attorney-general nominee Alberto Gonzales, then the White House counsel and up to his neck in the torture controversy). The minority judges stressed that this 2004 OLC memo had expressly declined to endorse the OLC's 2002 interpretation of "specific intent."

While true enough, this observation actually bolsters Bybee and Yoo. On the question of the required *mens rea* for torture, the 2004 OLC's replacement guidance is a numbing disquisition that, in the end, throws up its hands and says, "We do not believe it is useful to try to define the precise meaning of 'specific intent'" for torture. But, much like the litigants in the *Pierre* case, the CIA in 2002 didn't need inconclusive hand wringing. Nearly 3,000 Americans had just been killed, al-Qaeda was promising new mass-murder attacks, and the agency was being pressed by the Bush administration, Congress, and the public to make certain it extracted every jot of information captured terrorists had to give. The CIA needed an answer to the question: What is the full extent of our legal authority?

The judges of the Third Circuit were in a similar quandary. In a case in which the infliction of pain seemed unavoidable, they needed to define the parameters of legally actionable "torture." They looked at two choices: the 2002 OLC analysis, which, after wrestling with the tough questions in this grisly area, gave an answer that, however unpopular, appeared to jibe with precedent; and the 2004 OLC memo, which refused to affirm the 2002 guidance but couldn't bring itself to condemn it either—and which ultimately took a pass. Overwhelmingly, the judges came down on the side of Bybee and Yoo. What's more, even the three minority judges—though they disagreed that proof of a purpose to torture was required—concurred that an act could not be deemed torture absent proof of the accused's "knowledge or desire" that severe pain or suffering would result, a distinction they conceded was "subtle." As did the other ten judges, they agreed to send Pierre back to Haiti because—however certain it was that he would suffer there—there was no case under U.S. torture law.

Since deciding the tough case, the judges of the Third Circuit have gone on with their lives and their busy docket. By contrast, Bybee, Yoo, and other Bush-administration lawyers who came down exactly the same way are being investigated by Attorney General Eric Holder for possible criminal and ethics violations. The Obama administration's hypocrisy and political abuse of the Justice Department are shameful.

The investigation was announced by President Obama on April 21. Two days earlier, Obama's chief of staff, Rahm Emanuel, had assured Americans in a national television appearance that the president, who had already immunized CIA interrogators from prosecution, did not believe Bush-administration officials should be pursued, either—Obama was committed to looking forward, not back. This prompted revolt from the anti-war Left, Obama's base, so the cowed president reversed himself within 48 hours. Asked for comment, Holder—who had sworn at his confirmation that he had learned from his involvement in the Marc Rich pardon debacle and become strong enough to stand up to a president bent on abusing the Justice Department—went meekly along, fatuously promising to "follow the evidence wherever it takes us," because "no one is above the law."

Of course, the law that no one is supposed to be above is supposed to be applied equally to everyone, even political adversaries. Perhaps that's why Holder chose not to mention the *Demjanjuk* case in Ohio, involving an aging Nazi collaborator who is fighting extradition to Germany by claiming he will be tortured. The day after the attorney general assured the Left that he would investigate Bush officials, his department filed a brief in the Sixth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals opposing John Demjanjuk's bid to remain in America. The authority on which the Holder Justice Department relies for its position is the *Pierre* decision—the ruling that adopts the Bybee/Yoo interpretation of torture. Justice argued:

> As has been explained by the Third Circuit, CAT requires "a showing of specific intent before the Court can make a finding that a petitioner will be tortured." *Pierre* v. *Attorney General*, 528 F.3d 180, 189 (3d Cir. 2008). . . . An applicant for CAT protection therefore must establish that "his prospective torturer will have the motive or purpose" to torture him. *Pierre*, 528 F.3d at 189.

Justice's brief went on to quote from *Auguste* v. *Ridge*, the principal Third Circuit case relied on by the *Pierre* court: "The mere fact that Haitian authorities have knowledge that severe pain and suffering may result by placing detainees in these conditions does not support a finding that the Haitian authorities intend to inflict severe pain and suffering. The difference goes to the heart of the distinction between general and specific intent."

In sum, Barack Obama and Eric Holder are conducting a witch hunt against Bush-administration officials—threatening them with indictment and ruinous ethics findings, obliging them to retain counsel to defend wartime actions taken in service to the nation—because they offered a legal opinion, and in spite of the fact that this opinion has not only been adopted by a top federal court but is currently being used by Obama's Justice Department to fight off torture allegations. **NR**

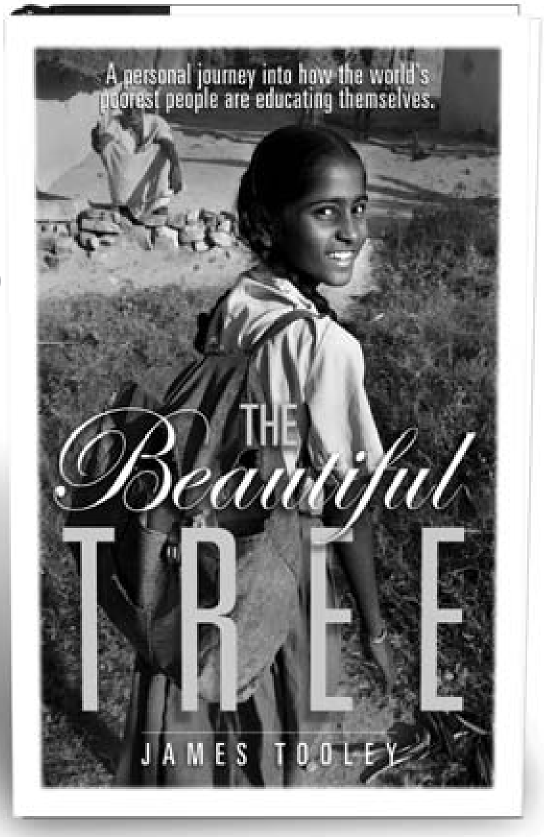
NEW BOOK FROM THE CATO INSTITUTE

"Surprising...engaging...a moving account of how poor parents struggle against great odds to provide a rich educational experience to their children."
—*PUBLISHERS WEEKLY*

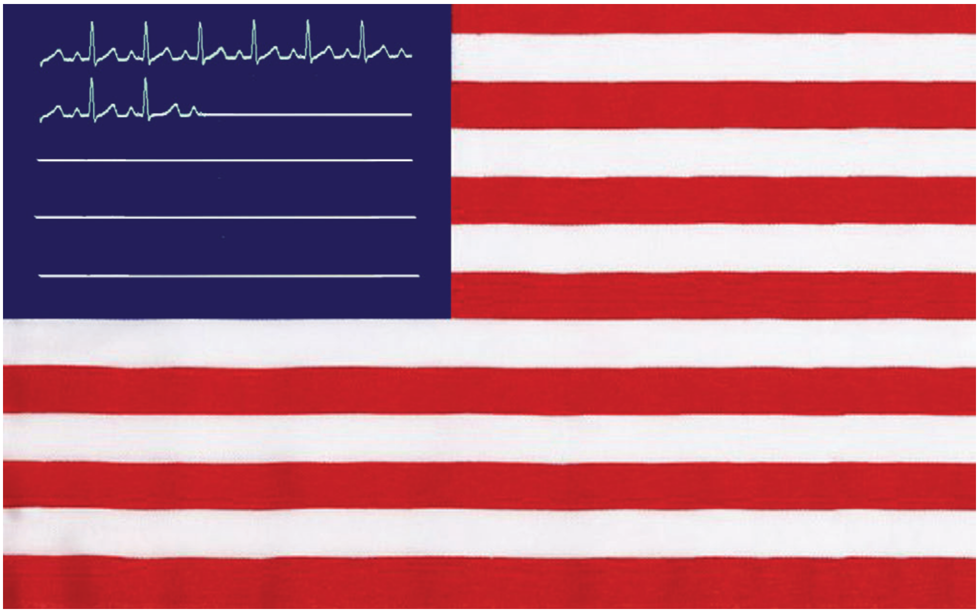
"With this important and passionately written book, James Tooley has joined the late Milton Friedman as a name to be reckoned with in support of 'market solutions' for providing quality education to poor children."
—HERNANDO DE SOTO, Recipient of the 2004 Milton Friedman Prize for Advancing Liberty; Author, *The Other Path*

An inspiring journey into the lives of families and teachers in the poorest communities of India, Africa and China who have successfully created their own private schools in response to failed public education.

HARDBACK: $19.95 • E-BOOK: $11.00


A personal journey into how the world's poorest people are educating themselves.
THE Beautiful TREE
JAMES TOOLEY

Buy your copy at bookstores nationwide, call 800-767-1241, or visit Cato.org.



Diagnosis

What, precisely, is wrong with the American health-care system?

BY REGINA E. HERZLINGER

We are bombarded with messages about the need for health-care reform. But we are not always clear about the problem we are trying to solve. Most Americans are satisfied with their health care: They rate their providers highly and are as happy with insurers and hospitals as they are with the average American business. And it is worth noting that the U.S. leads the world in personalized-medicine research, which identifies genetic mutations that cause medical afflictions in order to develop diagnostics and therapies. Because the fruits of this research could eventually cure maladies that today can only be palliated, its impact on our welfare and productivity may be as profound as that of the Industrial Revolution.

It is critical that we fully understand the health-care problems we are trying to address—before we act. Health care accounts for roughly one-sixth of the nation's economic output, and political intervention in this sensitive sector will inevitably be accompanied by unintended consequences and changes to our quality of life. The last foray into health-care reform, via managed care, presents a sobering lesson: The problems that managed-care insurers sought to eliminate—overuse and overpayment—were not considered the top problems by consumers and providers. Patients and doctors deplored managed-care reforms, which caused many Americans to lose access to care and made doctors hostages to insurance-company restrictions. So counterproductive are these intrusions that, in my academic work, I constantly meet physicians who have essentially given up on their profession. Last, and perhaps worst, the aggressive search for discounts by managed-care insurers motivated many hospitals to consolidate into oligopolies and monopolies that could not be pushed around by the insurers. This consolidation grievously affected price and quality competition.

The present blizzard of reform proposals is similarly disconnected from consumers' view of the problem. Those enrolled in employer-provided health insurance, for example, are not inclined to sympathize with the Democrats' Medicare-for-all vision or with Senator McCain's—and perhaps President

Regina Herzlinger is a professor at Harvard Business School and the author of Who Killed Health Care? America's $2 Trillion Medical Problem and the Consumer-Driven Cure.

You deserve a factual look at . . .

A Demilitarized Palestinian State (II)

Should Israel, should the world rely on it?

It is the declared policy of the United States government (and of most of the world) that in order to bring peace to the Middle East, the creation of a Palestinian state – the two-state solution – is indispensable. Even many Israelis have come to agree with that. But it is generally understood and taken for granted that such a state, which would essentially consist of Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") and Gaza, would have to be totally demilitarized.

What are the facts?

Israel is a very small country. Israel is surrounded by enemies. It is a very small country. Including the Golan and the "West Bank," it is only one-half the size of San Bernardino county in California. Israel concluded peace with Egypt in 1978 and some years later with Jordan. Most other Arab states are still in a declared or undeclared state of war with Israel. Iran, Muslim though not Arab, is the most determined and deadly of them all. It lurks in the background, its foremost military and political objective being the destruction of the State of Israel, which is quite openly declared.

> "One can only hope that the Israeli people... and the government of "Bibi" Netanyahu will understand the peril [of a Palestinian state] and will act accordingly."

Recent events in Gaza, regrettably, are an indicator of what Israel could expect from an independent Palestinian state, even though declared to be "demilitarized." Hamas, the terror organization in control of Gaza, has lobbed close to 10,000 rockets into Israel. Until now, these rockets have been of relatively poor quality, of fairly short range, and of limited accuracy. Even so, they have caused much damage and injuries and have put the Israeli localities affected into an almost constant state of alarm, making normal life impossible.

Even after the hard lesson that Israel taught Hamas in the recent short war, the terror continues: rockets fall almost daily on the Israeli cities within range. But, supplied by Iran and China, and smuggled through tunnels from the Sinai into Gaza, much more sophisticated rockets are now making their appearance. Larger population centers such as Beersheba and Jerusalem are coming within range.

Demilitarization is a myth. Nobody can reasonably doubt that even if Israel, under the never-ending pressure of world opinion, were to relinquish control of the "West Bank," a scenario similar to what happened and continues to happen in Gaza would prevail. Even if the "West Bank" Palestinians would wish not to become an armed camp similar to Gaza, the reality is that the Arab nations would not allow that. In contrast to Gaza, which is isolated from the world and which can be reached only through tunnels made and used under the "watchful eyes" of the cooperating Egyptians, the "West Bank" is totally accessible. The "Palestinian Authority," which is in control of the "West Bank," has thousands of trained soldiers disguised as police. Those so-called police are poised to be helicoptered in minutes to positions on the border with Israel, with armed forces from Syria reaching them within the same night. But such mobilization of the "demilitarized" Palestine would not even be required. As the Gaza experience shows, the weapons of preference of the Palestinian terrorists are rockets – either the Qassam, which are raining on Israel from Gaza, the Soviet-made Katyushas – highly efficient, truck-mounted and mobile, which are ideal for hit-and-run raids against Israel – or the even more advanced Iranian and Chinese missiles, that are now in the pipeline. Israel could not prevent them from flooding the "West Bank." A look at the map makes clear that even with the missiles of present performance and a hostile and not at all "demilitarized" Palestine covering Israel with missiles from Gaza and from the Judean ridges of the "West Bank," virtually all of Israel would be under the Palestinian guns, from every point of the border, which would by then have lengthened from about 60 miles to over 200 miles. Virtually all of Israel's population centers would be within range. So would virtually all of the country's industrial centers, the military establishments and the country's only international airport. Life in Israel would quite literally grind to a standstill.

While the idea of a Palestinian state may have some merit, there is abundant proof – the most recent being the continuing rocket attacks from Gaza – that such a state, whatever the promises at its creation, would represent an immediate existential threat to Israel. There has never been such a Palestinian state and the creation of such a state is not the primary nor even the secondary goal of the Arabs. Their primary and never-changing goal – overshadowing everything else – is the destruction of Israel – "wiping it off the map," to use the fanatic Muslims' favorite phrase. After unwisely having turned Gaza over to the Palestinians, yielding the "West Bank" to its sworn enemies would make Israel indefensible. Israel would be laying the groundwork for its own destruction. Tanks, warplanes, and infantry battalions would only be needed for the final mopping-up process. In the meantime, the missile batteries located in Gaza and on the Judean ridges – Israel's proposed new borders – would suffice to paralyze life and industrial activity in Israel. One can only hope that the Israeli people and Israel's new government under "Bibi" Netanyahu will understand this peril and will act accordingly.

This message has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic About the Middle East
P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco, CA 94159
Gerardo Joffe, President

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501 (c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world. Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

115

To receive free FLAME updates, visit our website: www.factsandlogic.org

Obama's—proposal to tax employer-provided health-insurance benefits. Many are bewildered by these proposals, wondering, "Why would I want to give up my company's health plan for Medicare? or "Why would I want a formerly tax-free benefit to be taxed?"

What, then, is wrong with our health care, and how serious is the problem? Although reformers can readily enumerate our system's shortcomings, many of their proposed reforms entail measures that will almost certainly undermine health-care access and quality for many consumers. And practically all of the most popular reform proposals fail to address the underlying problem, which is the lack of a robust consumer market for health care.

One thing that is wrong: Many Americans are worried about their health insurance. Those enrolled through their employers fear losing coverage, particularly during this recession. And many of those who are uninsured simply cannot afford coverage. Would-be reformers propose to solve this problem through mandating universal coverage. But bringing 50 million or so new clients into the health-insurance system will only fuel the inflation in health-care costs that already is roiling our economy, just as the expansion of Medicare and Medicaid did in the 1970s. Higher prices will mean less access to care, not more.

Other reform proposals also contemplate remedies that are inconsistent with consumers' real interests. For example, reformers criticize the erratic quality of medical care, which varies both by region—with vastly more utilization in Miami than Minneapolis, for example—and between health-care institutions. Quality even varies significantly within institutions, for no apparent reason other than the eccentric preferences of providers. Some critics aim to solve this problem by enforcing greater standardization in the practice of medicine. But those who lament the lack of innovation in health-care delivery should hope to see more variation, not less. Greater standardization would ill serve the needs of consumers who would benefit from new methods and models of care.

Some critics downplay institutional and economic factors and instead charge various agents in the health-care system—doctors, hospitals, insurers, governments—with greed and incompetence. These reformers would like to eliminate the guilty parties by transforming them into another type of entity. Some invoke the alleged saintliness of government programs and nonprofits, while others deplore their lethargy and aversion to innovation. And some blame the consumers, saying they neglect their health and then turn gluttonous when it comes to using health-care resources. Reformers with this view of consumers long for the return of managed care. But many consumers view managed care, not their own behavior, as the bigger problem.

So is there a definition of the problem that all can agree on? If not, then muddled and potentially disastrous policies could be imposed on this massive, vital, and fragile component of our national life. In my view, the core problem is that U.S. health care is a bad value for the money spent.

Unfortunately, I cannot prove my view of the problem because, unlike virtually every other sector of our economy, health care has no real measure of productivity. But an important fact supports my contention: The U.S. spends roughly 70 percent more for health care, as a percentage of GDP, than do most developed countries, and there is no corresponding improvement in health outcomes. It should be noted that those costs, swollen though they are, don't even count the $34 trillion in unfunded Medicare liabilities we already owe to future entitlement holders.

These economic facts undermine our national welfare in many ways. For one, they threaten our global competitiveness, both because of our outsize costs and because, unlike most of our competitors, we disproportionately pay those costs through our employers. U.S. businesses thus carry an extra layer of fat as they waddle into the arena of competition. Companies that are labor-intensive or unionized are especially disadvantaged. General Motors, with health-care expenditures of $1,600 per car, has long been hobbled in its competition with Toyota, which spends $100 in health care per car. How can it make up this $1,500 difference?

Additionally, employer-based health insurance hinders the mobility of labor in our economy. Many smaller businesses cannot offer health insurance, so workers are locked into larger companies by their need for coverage. This imposes serious costs on our economy, because roughly 80 percent of new jobs are created by small businesses. And even those workers who are offered company plans frequently reject them because of their high costs—about $14,000 for a family in 2009. Some 30 percent of the uninsured earn more than the median U.S. family income but nonetheless feel they cannot afford coverage.

If the problem is indeed poor value for the money, then reforms should achieve either lower costs or higher value. There are two common approaches to achieving these goals: Some would alter the demand for health care by restructuring the health-insurance industry and the variety of health-insurance policies offered; others would alter the supply of health-care services and technology. Virtually no one has proposed changing demand in a way that would affect supply; but, in my view,

> Bringing 50 million or so new clients into the health-insurance system will only fuel the inflation in health-care costs that already is roiling our economy. Higher prices will mean less access to care, not more.

How Does This 54-Year-Old Neurosurgeon Look So Good Under His Scrubs?

CENEGENICS®
medical institute

GQ suggests it's the path to **reversing the signs and symptoms of aging**. It's also gotten the attention of *Today, 60 Minutes, Nightline* and *The Associated Press*.

Find out more about the Cenegenics® program, a unique and balanced combination of nutrition, exercise and hormone optimization, when clinically indicated.

Jacob Rosenstein, MD, age 54

DR. ROSENSTEIN

Before Cenegenics, Age 51
166 lbs, 20.3% Body Fat

After Cenegenics, Age 54
161 lbs, 11.9% Body Fat

Benefits May Include:

- Decreased Risk of Age-Related Disease
- Improved Muscle Tone
- Decreased Body Fat
- Increased Energy
- Increased Sex Drive
- Sharper Thinking

Call today to speak one-on-one with a Cenegenics medical doctor. Strictly confidential, no obligation. Register online to receive the GQ article and *The Complete Guide to Healthy Aging.*

CALL 866.350.8799
REGISTER www.cenegenics-nr.com

NO INSURANCE AND NO MEDICARE ACCEPTED

that is the best way—in fact, the only way—to achieve better value for the money.

Those who favor demand-side remedies believe that the wrong buyers are acting on our behalf.

Many on the political left would like to create a single government entity to purchase our health care, in effect eliminating all private-sector health insurers. These reformers blame private insurance for the present poor value of health care, claiming the industry earns excessive returns (as much as 30 percent) to fund marketing, sales, and other business activities, and to be distributed as profits, which, in this analysis, add no real value. For comparison they point to Medicare: As a government program it need not earn a profit, and as a monopsonist it pays providers rates lower than those paid by private insurers.

It is difficult to argue that corporate purchases of health insurance have created good value for the money. In 2006–07, the general rate of inflation was about 4 percent, and Medicare expenses rose at a rate of about 5 percent, but corporate expenses for health insurance rose by 8 percent. In comparison, Medicare seems efficient—but only if some inconvenient truths are ignored. If Medicare followed private-sector accounting, its yearly expenses would increase by $1 trillion to reflect its $34 trillion in unfunded liabilities. And it must be taken into account that private insurance firms currently subsidize the discount of roughly 15 percent that the monopsonistic Medicare extracts from its suppliers. Who would absorb these costs if private insurers no longer existed? Either Medicare would be forced to increase its costs or those expenses would be imposed on providers, some of whom no doubt would flee to other occupations.

In the end, a public payer can reduce costs only by rationing health care, especially to the sick, who account for most of the expenditures. Thus, the United Kingdom's single-payer system features the lowest usage of cancer drugs among the Big 5 European economies, and commensurately low cancer-survival rates; likewise, the U.K. provides only half the care for victims of end-stage renal disease that U.S. providers offer. Compared with the United States, the United Kingdom spends less, true, but it also gets less.

Reformers on the right argue for more private-sector competition, not less. They would like to create a national market for health insurance by lifting state regulations that prohibit a policy designed in Mississippi from being sold in Massachusetts. In this way, the Right hopes to enable the residents of Massachusetts, which regulates health-insurance heavily, to shop in states with less regulation. The McCain campaign estimated that these reforms could reduce costs by as much as 20 percent.

Many on the right also favor offering the same health-insurance tax breaks that employers now enjoy to individuals, in the hope of creating a consumer-driven market. Unfortunately, the pervasive view is that U.S. consumers are incompetent, and this causes many reformers to champion an oxymoronic "managed competition" in which insurers offer standardized products to a public thought incapable of distinguishing between insurance policies. The "managed" part of this proposal is clear, but how it would increase competition remains obscure. It is akin to running a supermarket in which all brands of yogurt are identical except for their names. Clearly, the proposal suppresses competition by inhibiting product innovation. In any case, the alleged incompetence of the consumer is belied by Americans' ability, through their purchasing decisions, to steadily improve such complex goods as computers and cars, and by their ability to navigate the complex array of choices available in other segments of the economy.

INEFFICIENCY in the supply of health care is the elephant in the room when it comes to reform. McKinsey & Company, a management consultancy, calculates that this inefficiency accounts for $500 billion of our excess annual costs relative to other developed countries.

Reformers on the left argue that most health-care suppliers are incompetent or venal. They point to the inexplicable variability in medical costs for patients with similar needs, the alleged manipulation of patients by physician-owned medical providers, and the alleged manipulation of physicians by the medical-technology industry. Because they distrust the sources of supply, these reformers seek to micromanage them through mechanisms such as chronic-disease-treatment protocols, limitations on physician ownership of health-care facilities, and limitations on advertising and other communication by medical-technology firms.

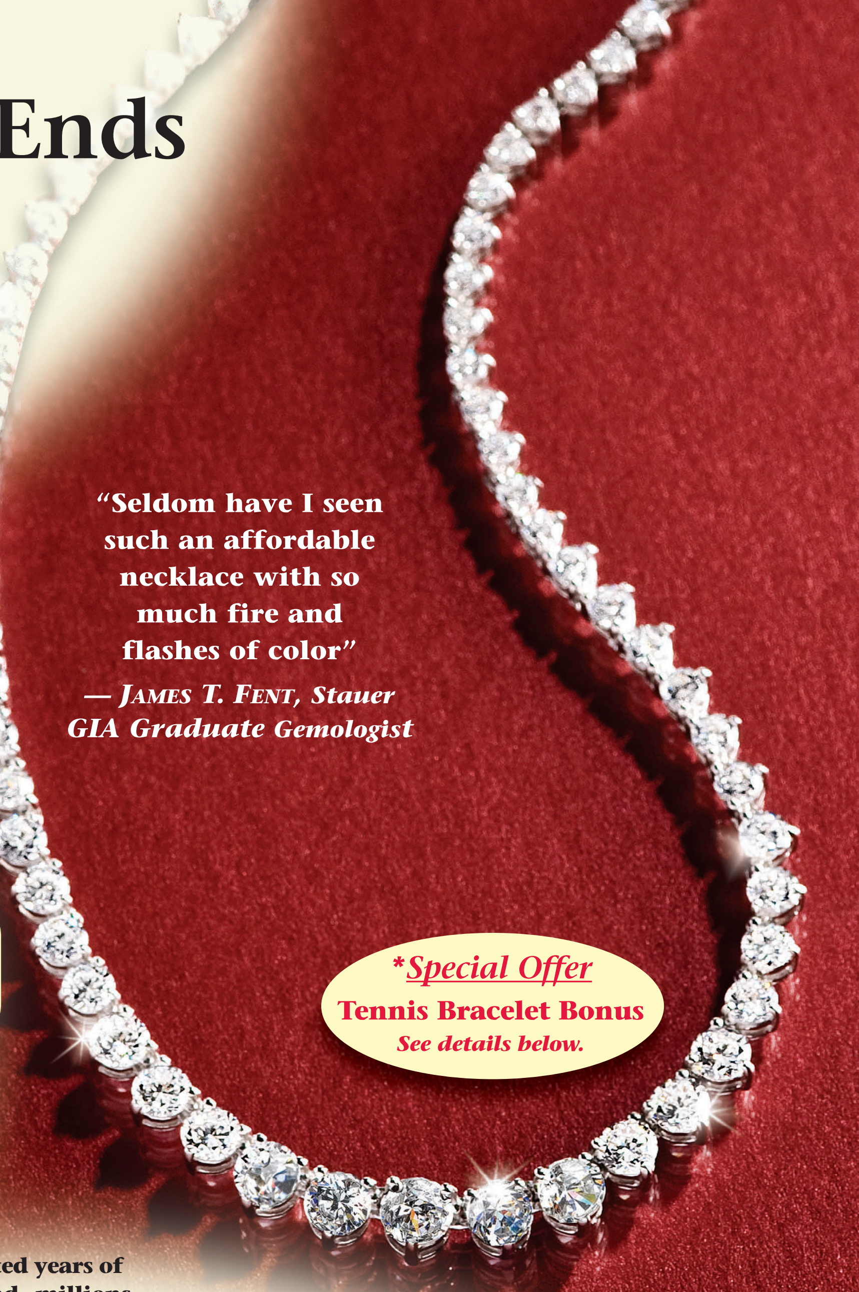
Payment mechanisms also are used for micromanagement. For example, Medicare's pay-for-performance initiative mostly rewards by-the-numbers adherence to government-approved practices (glorified as "evidence-based medicine") rather than actual performance, which is to say, measurable improvements in the rates of death and disability. These micromanaging initiatives would more accurately be labeled "pay for conformance." Their formulae are all too often derived from a consensus judgment or a review of uncontrolled results rather than from scientific experiment. This makes medical practices vulnerable to self-interested defense of the status quo. For example, the physicians who discovered ulcer-causing bacteria, thereby threatening the conventional view that ulcers were caused by stress and exacerbated by certain foods, were roundly ignored. They were forced to resort to the publicity-seeking stunt of inducing ulcers in themselves by ingesting the bacterium to break through the silence. Not surprisingly, there is scant evidence of any positive impact from pay-for-conformance micromanagement, and considerable evidence that it is not cost-effective.

Surprisingly, the Right has no real supply agenda other than arguing against limitations on physician ownership and advertising. But insightful critics both right and left acknowledge that the major problem of supply is the payment system, which compensates providers for fragments of care—a hospital stay, for example—rather than for the complete health-care needs of the patient. For generations, systems-analysis research has demonstrated that optimization of one component of a system does not necessarily optimize the entire system. Nevertheless, our payment system reimburses on the basis of various subcomponents—a hospital stay, a physician visit—rather than on the basis of an entire system of care for a disease, disability, or medical procedure.

This payment system is especially problematic for the treatment of chronic diseases and disabilities, which account

Tennis Match Ends in FREE Love?

The 14-carat Lumiere Tennis Necklace comes with a matching 9 ½ carat Tennis Bracelet Bonus! But only if you read on...



> **"Seldom have I seen such an affordable necklace with so much fire and flashes of color"**
>
> ***— James T. Fent, Stauer GIA Graduate Gemologist***

***Special Offer**

Tennis Bracelet Bonus

See details below.

Ever notice how much bling is showing up on the back court these days? Whether it's the red clay of the French Open in Paris or the green grass of Wimbledon, the lovely ladies of tennis are serving up some serious carats on the court. But unless you happen to be a Williams sister or a Russian blonde bombshell, the odds are good that those over-the-top diamond creations are a bit over your budget.

We don't think that the pros should have all the fun. So we assembled one of the most exciting tennis match-ups since the days of Martina and Billie Jean. We've paired our stunning Lumiére Tennis Necklace (over 14 carats of brilliant, lab-created Diamond*Aura*®) with our enormously popular Diamond*Aura*® Tennis Bracelet. Good enough? Not quite. That's why we dropped the price of the necklace by $200 and included the 9 ½ carat Diamond*Aura*® Tennis Bracelet... **as a BONUS** (a $195 value).

Ask about our satin and velvet travel case.

You can't be serious! We are. This pair features over 24 carats of dazzling Diamond*Aura*® luxury for under $299! Each brilliant-cut Diamond*Aura*® is carefully prong-set into the finest .925 sterling silver. The necklace sparkles with even more clarity and fire than natural mined diamonds, which in a similar design can sell for as much as $25,000.

A classic is born in competition. The beloved tennis bracelet earned its name after the "queen" of U.S. tennis lost her favorite diamond links during intense play at the 1987 U.S. Open. The match was halted so that Chrissie could collect her precious stones. From that day forward, the elegant inline diamond piece was known as a "tennis bracelet."

Since then, the style has become a sensation among the world's elite athletes and fashion superstars both on and off the court.

We've invested years of research and millions of dollars in perfecting Diamond*Aura*®, which has won the praise of noted jewelry experts around the world. According to the book, *Jewelry and Gems-the Buying Guide*, the technique used in Diamond*Aura* offers "the best diamond simulation to date." Our Diamond*Aura* jewelry retains every jeweler's specification: impeccable color, clarity, cut, and large carat weight.

Our 30-Love Guarantee. Not every jewelry purchase can be a match made in heaven. If you don't fall in love with the Diamond*Aura* Lumiére Tennis Necklace and BONUS matching Tennis Bracelet, return them within 30 days for a full refund of your purchase price.

JEWELRY SPECS:

- Over 14 ¾ ctw of Diamond*Aura*®
- .925 sterling silver settings
- 17" in length

The DiamondAura® Tennis Bracelet has more than enough bling to raise a racquet over— a $195 BONUS.

Diamond*Aura*® Lumiére Necklace

(14 ¾ ctw) MSRP ~~$495~~

Your price **$295** +s&h

***Special Offer**—Receive the Diamond*Aura*® Tennis Bracelet as a bonus with the purchase of the Lumiére Necklace.*

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

1-888-277-8382

Promotional Code DLN121-01
Please mention this code when you call.

Stauer

14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. DLN121-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

Smart Luxuries—Surprising Prices

for 80 percent of health-care costs. Because the providers are not given incentives to optimize the overall course of care, patients receive suboptimal care that ultimately results in higher costs. The experience of Duke Medical Center in devising an integrated system of care for the treatment of congestive heart failure is instructive. Although this approach reduced costs by 40 percent in only one year, Duke as an institution lost virtually all that savings because it receives substantially higher compensation for treating sick, hospitalized people than for creating improvements in health that keep people out of the hospital in the first place.

THE only viable cure for this litany of ailments is to create a health-care market by reforming demand in such a way as to motivate productive innovations in supply.

On the demand side, most health-insurance beneficiaries do not behave like real consumers: Employer-insured consumers are not motivated to shop carefully because they do not recognize that their health-insurance benefits are subtracted from their wages, while those insured by the government have someone else footing the bill. As a result, consumers do not exercise the normal value-for-the-money judgment that has caused goods and services in other markets to become simultaneously better and cheaper. The evidence from the Swiss consumer-driven health-insurance system, and from high-deductible health-insurance policies, demonstrates that middle-class consumers who pay a meaningful fraction of their health-care expenditures out of pocket will reduce spending without damaging their health.

On the supply side, providers currently are compensated for conforming to cookbook recipes for delivering fragments of care. These practices are not cost-effective and inhibit innovation. And because providers lack economic incentives to provide the best value for the money, patients receive suboptimal, unnecessarily expensive care.

Effective health-care reform would motivate consumers to shop carefully for insurance policies that offer the best value for the money while giving providers incentives to supply the best value for the money. Two reforms are needed to make that happen:

1) Change the income-tax system so that employed enrollees understand that their income funds the purchase of health benefits. The most direct way would be to make the money spent on health insurance available as cash, tax free, to employees. For example, my employer, Harvard University, could offer me a tax-free raise for the $15,000 of my income that it currently spends to purchase my health insurance. As I would, many of Harvard's employees would opt to take the money and buy their own insurance, helping to create a genuine consumer-driven market.

2) Make insurers compete for customers with policies that offer better value for the money. The most important innovation would be to create networks of producers paid for providing the total care needed by victims of chronic diseases and disabilities. These networks would offer better and cheaper care because of their integration.

Reinvigorating the relationship between supply and demand is the only health-care reform that will avert the economic disaster that otherwise awaits us. **NR**

Placebo

Why the Democrats' proposals will not work

BY MICHAEL F. CANNON

THE key congressional committees have yet to introduce the legislation that will carry Democrats' hopes for "universal coverage"—i.e., a government guarantee that all Americans will have health *insurance*, if not access to actual medical care. But the leading Democratic reform proposals—the plan on which Pres. Barack Obama campaigned, the "Call to Action" white paper by Senate Finance Committee chairman Max Baucus of Montana, and the "Healthy Americans Act" proposed by Sen. Ron Wyden (Oregon)—bear enough similarities that we can predict the shape that legislation will take. Indeed, they all bear a striking resemblance to the reforms that Republican governor Mitt Romney signed into law in Massachusetts in 2006.

That failing Massachusetts experiment, like the failed Clinton health plan of 1994, relies on coercion, mandates, price controls, and government rationing. If comprehensive health-care reform happens in 2009, it will follow suit—and perhaps go even farther, by creating a new socialized health-insurance program as an option for Americans under age 65. Tens of millions of Americans would lose their current health insurance and could also lose their current doctors, President Obama's reassurances notwithstanding. Since there aren't enough Americans earning more than $250,000 to finance the estimated $1.7 trillion price tag, reform would mean higher taxes for the middle class, violating another promise Obama made during the presidential campaign. Worst of all, these reforms would—through government rationing and the sclerosis that government brings to health-care delivery—reduce the quality of medical care and cost many lives.

Universal coverage is impossible without coercion; that's why the leading Democratic proposals would force Americans to obtain health insurance, either on their own or through an employer. Those who do not obtain the prescribed level of coverage would pay a fine. Those who do not pay the fine would go to jail. During the 2008 primaries, Hillary Clinton attacked Obama's plan for not being coercive enough: She proposed to compel all Americans to purchase coverage with a so-called individual mandate. Obama criticized this mandate, claiming that Clinton would "have the government force uninsured people to buy insurance, even if they can't afford it"—but in reality, his plan was scarcely less coercive. He proposed an individual mandate for children's coverage—don't worry, only the parents would face jail time—and an employer mandate that

Mr. Cannon is director of health-policy studies at the Cato Institute, and co-author of Healthy Competition: What's Holding Back Health Care and How to Free It.

would compel employers to provide "meaningful" coverage to their workers.

Whatever coercive power an employer mandate lacks because it exempts small businesses, part-time workers, and the unemployed, it more than makes up for in other ways. Obama's National Economic Council chairman, Larry Summers, once wrote that employer mandates "are like public programs financed by benefit taxes": They can increase unemployment, work against the very people they purport to help (i.e., low-wage workers and the sick), and "fuel the growth of government because their costs are relatively invisible." Economists Kate Baicker of Harvard and Helen Levy of Michigan estimate that, by effectively increasing the minimum wage, an employer mandate could kill 315,000 low-wage jobs. Unlike the hundreds of thousands of jobs lost to the current recession, those jobs would not return: The mandate would continue to eliminate jobs as long as the growth of health-insurance costs outpaces that of low-wage workers' productivity.

Since employers finance health benefits by reducing wages, it is practically irrelevant whether a government enacts an individual mandate, an employer mandate, or both. One way or another, the cost of any mandate comes out of the worker's hide. Politicians such as Obama tend to prefer an employer mandate, however, for the reason Summers suggests: Employer mandates hide the implicit "mandate tax" in the form of reduced wages, where workers are less likely to notice it.

During the campaign, Obama vaguely defined "meaningful" coverage as being at least as good as what members of Congress get. That standard could end up forcing half of all those with private health insurance (roughly 100 million people) and all of the uninsured (an estimated 46 million) to get a more comprehensive plan, whether they value the added coverage or not. Whatever the meaning of "meaningful" is, the mandate tax would grow over time as a result of "mandate creep." As they have done at the state level, patient advocates and providers will demand that Congress mandate lower deductibles and coinsurance, as well as coverage of particular services. Since the 1970s, states have gradually enacted nearly 2,000 laws requiring consumers to purchase specific types of coverage. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimates that such laws increase premiums by an average of about 3 percent: less in states with few mandated benefits (such as Idaho: 13 mandated benefits) and more in states with many (Maryland: 63).

Massachusetts already had 40 such laws by the time Mitt Romney enacted an individual and employer mandate in 2006. After that, mandate creep accelerated. Bureaucrats and lobbyists imposed coverage for prescription drugs, preventive care, orthotics, prosthetics, dependent students, and domestic partners. They imposed other costly restrictions, including limits on cost-sharing such as maximum deductibles (no higher than $2,000 for individuals and $4,000 for families), a ban on per-illness or per-year caps on total benefits, and a ban on coverage providing a "fixed dollar amount per day or stay in the hospital."

The result is absurd: There's zero evidence that anything beyond a basic health plan actually improves health outcomes, yet the individual and employer mandates gradually make coverage less affordable by outlawing the leaner, less expensive plans. (If Congress enacts these mandates, we can say goodbye to health savings accounts as we know them.)

As a result, insurance premiums are rising rapidly in Massachusetts, as are the subsidies required to help residents—including families of four earning up to $66,000—comply. Government spending has far outpaced projections, with the total cost of reform reaching $1.9 billion last year. Tax increases on tobacco, hospitals, insurers, and employers have failed to stanch the bleeding. Combined public and private health spending has grown an estimated 66 percent faster than it would have without the reforms. The true believers in universal coverage are so committed to this disaster that they spin the cost overruns as evidence of success. Of course, cost overruns *are* a success if your goal is simply to boost health-care spending. That's why the health-insurance lobby and physicians' groups such as the American Medical Association support an individual mandate, which opens the spigot by forcing more people to purchase more of their services. One insurer-funded study practically celebrates how the Massachusetts reforms hide the runaway spending by dispersing the burden across higher premiums, higher taxes, and lower wages.

The biggest sticking point among Democrats has been whether to create a new socialized health-insurance program. While many Democrats fear that a new government program would jeopardize health reform's chances for passage, Obama and Baucus want such a program to be an "option" for those under age 65, within the context of a new federally regulated market that Obama calls a "National Health Insurance Exchange." House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and four House caucuses representing more than 100 Democrats have stated that a "public-plan choice," modeled on Medicare, is the sine qua non of reform. Sixteen Democratic senators have signed a letter signaling their support.

Not even the 1993 Clinton reforms envisioned so radical a step. One analysis by the Lewin Group, a prominent health-care-policy firm, estimated that Obama's campaign plan would move 48 million Americans into a new government-run plan—essentially doubling the Medicare rolls. Lewin subsequently estimated that if Congress used Medicare's payment rates and opened the new program to everyone, it could pull 120 million Americans out of private insurance—more than half of the private market—and boost the government rolls by an even larger number. Two-thirds of Americans would depend on government for their health care, compared with just over one-quarter today.

That would strike a historic blow against even the possibility of limited government. Medicare and Medicaid are *the* reason that the size of the federal budget will double from 20 percent to 40 percent of GDP within 80 years. Medicare's unfunded liabilities are in the neighborhood of $80 trillion. The CBO estimates that all income-tax rates would have nearly to double by mid-century (top rate: 66 percent), and increase by nearly 150 percent by 2082 (top rate: 88 percent), just to pay for existing federal programs. If Congress creates a new government health program instead of reforming the ones we've got, tax increases will be inevitable and painful: The CBO estimates that by 2050, economic output could be 20 percent lower than if government remained at its current share of GDP. And tax cuts will be a pipe dream: In 1995 and 1996, Bill Clinton showed that the most effective strategy for defeating tax cuts is to paint them as a threat to voters' health care. If two-thirds of Americans come to depend on government for their health care, whether through a new program or through subsidized "private" coverage, we can forget about limiting government within our lifetimes.

Despite Medicare and Medicaid's failure to contain health-care costs, the Left claims that one more government program ought to do the trick. Their main strategy, which they seldom admit, is explicit government rationing. Thus the $1 billion in the stimulus bill for "comparative effectiveness" research—which would help government bureaucrats decide, e.g., whether Mom's next round of chemo (in the words of a draft committee report on the stimulus bill) "will no longer be prescribed." Massachusetts has created a commission to help the government develop a "common payment methodology across all public and private payers," including the use of "evidence-based purchasing strategies"—code for explicit government rationing.

Unlike Britons, though, Americans won't allow government bureaucrats to make their medical decisions. Neither will doctors, drugmakers, and device manufacturers, who don't like federal agencies questioning the value of their services. That's why Congress, at the behest of the industries, has repeatedly defunded agencies that produce industry-offending research. Even if a new comparative-effectiveness effort were to survive, the CBO estimates that after ten years it would reduce federal health spending by "less than one one-hundredth of 1 percent." When explicit rationing fails, the government will turn to its old standby: implicit rationing, typically via price controls.

Government already controls the prices for roughly half of all health-care spending. Medicare sets somewhere close to a million different prices. In Medicaid, the states do the same. The leading Democratic proposals would vastly expand government's role as price setter, primarily by moving tens of millions of patients into price-controlling government programs. Indeed, many reformers want a new government program to use the very prices Medicare does. Obama, Baucus, Wyden, and others seek to control private health-insurance premiums as well.

A government-controlled price is almost never right. Price controls are responsible for both the current surplus of specialists (because prices are too high) and the shortage of primary-care physicians (because prices are too low). Medicare and Medicaid price controls are generally not binding on private payers, though they do influence overall supply. That's one reason, for example, many Massachusetts residents—particularly those newly insured under the Romney plan—are facing long waits for primary care.

ROMAN GENN

Price controls enable a veiled form of government rationing: If government sets the prices low enough, many doctors won't participate, which creates non-price barriers to access. States set Medicaid's prices so low that nearly half of all doctors limit the number of Medicaid patients they will accept. Some 20 to 30 percent refuse *all* Medicaid patients. Medicaid patients often travel hours to find a participating provider.

That is not to say that price controls are an effective tool for reducing spending. When government sets prices too high—as with specialty care, agricultural price supports, and 20th-century airline regulation—spending may rise. Government can ratchet prices downward, yet providers know more than regulators about their actual costs and are difficult to monitor. Northwestern University economist Leemore Dafny thus finds that hospitals are "quite sophisticated" in their "strategies" for gaming Medicare's price controls. Physicians likewise push back by increasing quantity and substituting higher-priced services (e.g., CT scans rather than X-rays). Even setting prices too low can sometimes cause spending to rise: In 2007, Maryland's low Medicaid price controls kept Deamonte Driver from seeing a dentist for his toothache. (Only one in six Maryland dentists accepts Medicaid patients.) The infection in Driver's abscessed tooth, which could have been treated with a simple extraction, spread to his brain. That led to $250,000 of medical services, including two unsuccessful brain surgeries. Price controls do not contain costs so much as pretend that certain costs don't exist—like the loss of Deamonte Driver, who died at age 12, as the *Washington Post* put it, "for want of a dentist."

If anything, Medicare errs on the side of providing too much access to care. One-third of Medicare patients looking for a new primary-care physician have difficulty finding one, but that amounts to just 2 percent of enrollees. That cannot last, particularly if Congress creates a new government program. Given the cost pressures facing these programs, Medicare and any new program will start to look more like Medicaid. There will be more Deamonte Drivers.

Price controls even allow politicians to rob producers. Wharton professor Mark Pauly notes that the government's "raw bargaining power . . . can permit [it] to be inefficient . . . and actually incur higher true costs than other competitors, and to cover up those inefficiencies by the transfers extracted from providers." The Lewin Group estimates that if Congress moves 130 million Americans into a new government program, physicians and hospitals would see their net incomes fall by roughly $70 billion in 2010. That pay cut, which works out to about $47,000 per physician, may just correct existing overpayments. But what about the *next* $47,000 cut?

Price controls on insurance premiums create another form of implicit rationing. Premium caps, which Massachusetts governor Deval Patrick is currently threatening to impose, force private insurers to manage care more tightly—i.e., to deny coverage for more services. Rating restrictions prevent insurers from pricing health insurance according to a purchaser's risk. According to Harvard economist and Obama adviser David Cutler, rating restrictions unleash adverse selection, which drives comprehensive health plans from the market. That rations care by forcing many consumers to accept less coverage than they would prefer. Rating restrictions also encourage insurers to avoid the sickest patients or skimp on their care—another form of implicit rationing.

If those dynamics sound familiar, there's a reason. Congress already imposes a loose form of rating restriction on most of the market by prohibiting employers from charging different employees different premiums. Some 20 states already impose rating restrictions on health insurance sold to individuals.

When the Left claims that government programs do a better job of containing costs than private insurance, what they mean is that government does a better job of *hiding* costs—such as the monetary and non-monetary costs it imposes on patients and providers. Pacific Research Institute economist Ben Zycher points out that the taxes required to run Medicare destroy economic activity, making that program's administrative costs "between four and five times [those] of private health insurance."

THE greatest danger of the Democrats' reform plans, however, lies in the fact that they would hamper and cut short thousands of lives by preventing markets from improving quality.

Though America produces more new medical technologies than any other country, the way we deliver medical care is often backward and dangerous. We lack basic conveniences present in other sectors of the economy, such as accessible electronic records. Doctors too often do not coordinate the services they provide to a shared patient. The number of medical errors is frightening—an estimated 181,000 severe errors per year in hospitals alone, resulting in up to five times as many deaths as result from a lack of health insurance. And, yes, we lack crucial comparative-effectiveness research about which treatments work better than others.

Each of these failures can be laid at the feet of government, specifically Medicare. The reason has to do with the difference between two ways of paying providers. Prepayment (also known as "capitation") is a payment system in which providers receive a fixed budget to care for a defined patient population. It encourages providers to invest in electronic medical records (EMRs), care coordination, error reduction, and comparative-effectiveness research. Kaiser Permanente, a prepaid health plan, leads the industry in these areas precisely because prepayment allows the Permanente Medical Group to keep any money it saves—by, for example, using EMRs to avoid duplicative tests or medical errors.

Medicare's "fee for service" payment system, on the other hand, pays providers an additional fee for each additional service or hospital admission. That actually penalizes providers that try to improve those dimensions of quality. EMRs help avoid duplicative CT scans by saving and making accessible the results of previous scans. But Medicare will pay for a second scan. And a third. And a fourth. So a provider that invests in EMRs is not only out the cost of the computer system, but also receives fewer payments from Medicare.

The story with medical errors is similar, but more horrifying. If a medical error injures a patient who then requires additional services, Medicare will pay not just for the services that injured the patient but also for the follow-up services. That's right: Medicare pays providers *more* when they injure patients. Again, if providers invest in error-reduction technologies, they are not only out that initial investment, but Medicare penalizes them with fewer payments.

Rather than allow a level playing field for all payment systems, so that competition forces them all to improve, government tips the scales toward fee-for-service. Medicare is the largest purchaser of medical services in the U.S., and it operates largely on a fee-for-service basis. According to former Medicare chief Thomas Scully, "in many markets Medicare and Medicaid comprise over 65 percent of the payments to hospitals, and more than 80 percent in some physician specialties." No wonder a recent *New England Journal of Medicine* study found that only 1.5 percent of non-federal hospitals use a comprehensive EMR system. Name any quality innovation that might save money by avoiding unnecessary services—EMRs, bar-code scanners for prescription drugs, surgery checklists. Medicare blocks them all. The Left bemoans the resulting quality problems, yet is desperately trying to subject even more of the market to the very stagnation Medicare introduces. Massachusetts, with its commission to develop a single payment system for its entire health-care sector, is diving head first into the cement. It makes no difference if government chooses a different payment system than Medicare's. The problem isn't the particular payment system, but the lack of competition from other systems.

Surgeon and scholar Atul Gawande writes: "When we've made a science of performance . . . thousands of lives have been saved. Indeed the scientific effort to improve performance in medicine . . . can arguably save more lives . . . than research on the genome, stem-cell therapy, cancer vaccines, and all the other laboratory work we hear about in the news. . . . Nowhere, though, have governments recognized this." Medicare has spent four decades and billions of dollars penalizing providers who try to save those lives, or develop the tools necessary to do so.

We don't need to go to Canada to find horror stories about government-run health care. One hundred thousand deaths each year from medical errors should be frightening enough.

BEFORE the great health-care debate of 2009 is over, some Democrats and even some Republicans will reassure us that we can reach universal coverage without creating a new government entitlement if only we mandate "personal responsibility" the way Massachusetts did. If Massachusetts has taught us anything, it is that individual and employer mandates *are* a new government program. They effectively socialize health care by compelling participation in the marketplace, dictating what consumers purchase and at what price, eliminating both economical and comprehensive health plans, and raising taxes. Massachusetts shows that mandates lead ultimately to government rationing by granting government even more power to decide how providers will be paid and how they will practice medicine.

The coming debate is not just about the freedom to make one's own medical decisions. It is about life and death. If we insist on a dynamic and competitive market, health care will be better, cheaper, safer, and more secure. If we go in the direction of new government programs, mandates, and price controls, we will see higher costs, more medical errors, more uncoordinated care, and more lives lost because people with government "insurance" nevertheless couldn't find a doctor who would treat them. **NR**

Prescription

A politically salable approach to market-based reform

BY JAMES C. CAPRETTA

THE most powerful constituency in the debate over the future of health care in the United States comprises those families enrolled in stable, employer-based health plans run by large and medium-sized companies. Conservatives need to get these voters on their side, both to block the worst elements of President Obama's agenda and to take the first steps in building a rational marketplace.

What's crucial to understand about this segment of the electorate is their ambivalence about the whole reform enterprise. Yes, they see the problems of gaps in coverage and rapidly rising costs. Most would support an effort to cover the uninsured, as they worry about where they would get insurance if they lost their jobs. But by and large these workers are satisfied with the coverage they have and are more than a little reluctant to trade it for anything that seems less certain to provide ready access to the doctors and hospitals they trust.

Their risk aversion is understandable. Employer-sponsored plans tend to contract with the best networks of doctors and hospitals in their communities, with very limited financial exposure for the enrollees. That's hard to beat.

Indeed, it was this large group of already-insured who were crucial to killing the Clinton health-care plan of 1994. Polls in 1993 showed strong support for the concept of universal coverage; that sounded like more security to most Americans. But when workers found out the plan being crafted by then–First Lady Hillary Clinton would force many firms to drop their coverage and sign their workers up for government-arranged insurance, support for the effort sank like a rock. By mid-1994, members of Congress were looking for an exit strategy—and the bill never came up for a vote.

The Obama administration is hoping to avoid the same fate, which is why the president and his aides keep saying that, under their plan, workers can keep the coverage they have today if they want to—even though it's not true. The Lewin Group, a health-policy consulting firm, estimates some 120 million Americans with private coverage today would end up in government-run insurance under an Obama-like plan, mainly because tens of thousands of *employers* would choose to stop offering plans to their workers. Still, the president's insistence that his plan would result in no such thing is instructive. He clearly thinks he can't win this fight if workers with good job-based coverage turn against him.

He is right to be worried about them—as John McCain could testify. Last year, while running for president, McCain finally did what many conservatives had wanted Republican political leaders to do for years: He offered a bold plan to fix what's wrong with American health care that could compete with the Democrats' statist plans. He put on the table the idea conservatives have long argued must be the centerpiece of an effective, market-based fix: ending the tax break for employers who offer coverage, and replacing it with a tax break for all individuals who buy insurance, whether through their employers or in the individual market.

It's true that the employer tax break has been instrumental in encouraging the middle class to buy insurance since World War II. But today, it's the Achilles heel of American health-care policy.

For starters, when a firm buys insurance for its workers, the workers don't own their policies. When they leave their jobs, they can't take the health insurance with them (there is a special 18-month continuation period for certain workers—but the worker must pay the full premium with after-tax dollars). This lack of portability causes many people to experience gaps in coverage while they are between jobs. Some 80 million people went at least one month without insurance between 2004 and 2005.

Moreover, job-based coverage doesn't work nearly as well for workers in smaller firms. Insurers charge premiums based on the known risks of the group they are covering, and the smallest firms simply are not big enough to spread these risks broadly. Most states have rules requiring insurers to treat all small businesses as if they were part of one large group, but there's usually some give in the rates they can charge, allowing for adjustment based on a business's recent claims history. Consequently, it is not uncommon for a small business with one or two workers newly diagnosed with cancer to see premiums jump 20 or 30 percent, and sometimes even more, in just one year.

It doesn't help matters that smaller companies tend to pay less, and to hire more part-time and seasonal workers. An offer of employer-based insurance is worth less to a low-wage worker than to a high-salaried one—the former is likely to prefer higher wages, both because he needs the money more and because he'll pay a lower tax rate on the additional income. The result is a high concentration of the uninsured in the nation's smallest businesses. More than 30 percent of all workers in firms with ten or fewer employees are uninsured, while only 10 percent of workers in firms with at least 1,000 employees are uninsured.

Today's open-ended tax break for employer-paid premiums is also one of the main reasons for rapid health-care-cost inflation. Because cash wages are taxed and employer-paid premiums are not—in effect, the federal treasury subsidizes about 40 cents of every new dollar paid by employers for health coverage—high-income workers have a strong incentive to take more and more compensation in the form of health benefits. Predictably, companies have responded by offering more expansive insurance, with lower deductibles and looser networks of preferred providers, than they would if their workforce had to pay the full financial consequences of such a design.

Senator McCain wanted to take on all of these problems at once. His plan would have replaced today's tax preference for employer-paid premiums with a fixed, refundable tax credit worth $2,500 for individuals and $5,000 for households. Workers could use the credit to pay for insurance organized by their employers, or they could use it to buy insurance on the open market.

There's little doubt that, if adopted, the McCain plan would

Mr. Capretta is a fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center. He was an associate director at the Office of Management and Budget from 2001 to 2004.

have gone a long way toward addressing many of the shortcomings prevalent in health care today. Workers could have gotten portable insurance, eliminating "job lock" (the tendency of people to stick with jobs they don't like just for the insurance) and closing gaps in coverage for those temporarily out of the workforce. Millions of workers who are now passive enrollees in their company plans would have become cost-conscious consumers looking for value in the marketplace. With a fixed tax credit that did not change based on the insurance purchased, workers would have had strong financial incentives to sign up for low-premium offerings, and insurers would have been rewarded for meeting the market demand with lower costs and greater efficiency.

Further, a universal tax credit would have been something like a universal-coverage plan. Every household would have gotten it—even ones that paid no income taxes. All experience indicates most households would have bought *something* so as not to let the credit go to waste. There would have been a dramatic reduction in the ranks of the uninsured.

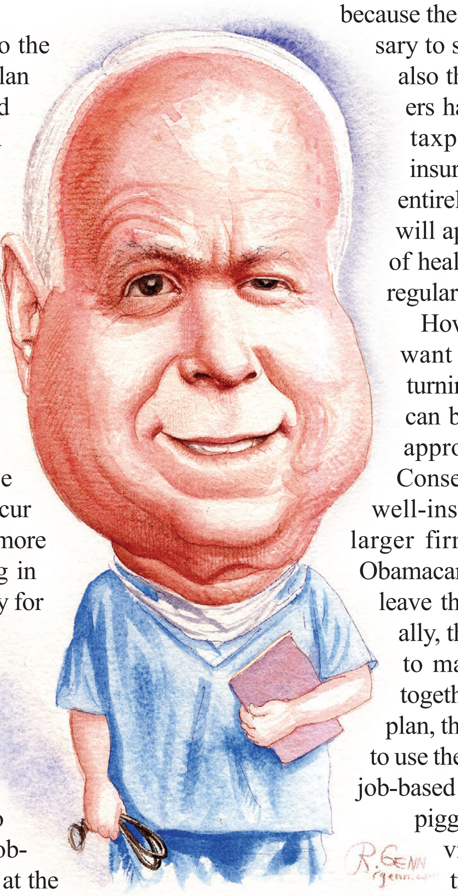
UNFORTUNATELY, the voting public never got past some initial reservations about the idea. Granted, McCain was not the ideal spokesman. He had not invested much of his lengthy Senate career in mastering the complexities of health-care policy. When the Obama campaign launched a barrage of attacks on his plan, McCain seemed unable to produce timely and effective responses.

Still, one cannot write off the problems McCain encountered as nothing more than ineffective communication. His tax-credit idea was widely aired, and explained in countless ways and settings. The public heard the message—but wasn't convinced it was the way to go.

Why? In short, Senator McCain ran into the same brick wall that stopped the Clinton plan in the 1990s: People with good, job-based coverage saw it as more of a threat than an improvement.

The Obama campaign certainly helped voters reach that conclusion. It ran scores of attack ads claiming the McCain plan would unravel the employer-based health-insurance system. If young and healthy workers could take their tax credits and leave their employers' plans for better deals in the individual market, it would raise the average risk—and thus the premiums—of those who remained. In a worst-case scenario, an insurance death spiral could occur as these premium hikes encouraged even more young and healthy people to leave, leading in turn to even higher premiums. Unfortunately for McCain, many large employers essentially agreed with the Obama critique—and said so both to the national press and to their workers.

Certainly the attack was over-the-top, as attacks often are the month before an election. The McCain campaign was able to cite estimates that the migration out of job-based plans would be very modest, at least at the outset of a switch to individual tax credits. And many conservatives rightly countered that there's nothing wrong with people's exiting employer groups to buy insurance on their own—in a sense, that's the whole point of the reform, as it would lead to portable, and thus more stable, coverage.



ROMAN GENN

Nonetheless, the critique struck a nerve with the electorate—because voters value the access to group-rated insurance premiums that job-based plans essentially guarantee. Today, in most employer plans, all of the workers pay the same premium, regardless of their age and health. Many states have rules that attempt to pool insurance risks similarly in their individual-insurance markets, but they almost have to allow *some* variation in premiums—to ensure that the young and healthy don't just walk away. Moreover, many families have been in this market themselves. They know it is entirely possible for someone with a history of illness or disease to face sky-high premiums and meager benefits.

To reassure voters, Senator McCain proposed a much-expanded role for government-run high-risk pools. The federal government would directly subsidize insurance premiums for the very sick. That would obviate the need for elaborate, state-enforced insurance regulations intended to socialize high risks through premium payments. Directly subsidizing the most expensive cases—a relatively small number—would allow the premiums for everyone else in the individual market to come down, and thus encourage the young and healthy to enroll.

High-risk pools, properly created, are certainly one way to reduce premiums for people with expensive preexisting conditions, but that idea alone wasn't nearly enough to close the sale for McCain. To begin with, high-risk pools are already in place in many states—and they haven't worked particularly well, because the funding has been far below the level necessary to subsidize all of the eligible people. There's also the concern that, with high-risk pools, insurers have a strong incentive to offload costs onto taxpayers by liberally designating potential insurance enrollees as "high risk." It's also not entirely reassuring to some that the private market will apparently work better if those most in need of health services are essentially pulled out of the regular pool.

However, by recognizing that many Americans want to stay with their current insurance and turning that fact to their advantage, conservatives can both prevent Obama's government-centered approach and advance market-based reforms. Conservatives must recognize that they need the well-insured—those in plans run by medium and larger firms—on their side in their fight against Obamacare. That means making a strategic decision to leave them where they are—for now. And, ironically, the only way to do that is to allow employers to make the decision to keep the entire group together: If a company decides to continue with a plan, the employees of that company would be able to use their tax credits only to offset the premiums for job-based coverage. Some workers might still leave by piggybacking on spouses' tax credits in the individual market. But, by and large, leaving control with the firms would ensure that stable job-based coverage could remain in place, if the firms wanted to keep offering it.

Some conservatives will find this compromise uncomfortable, because it would limit the freedom of some employees to go outside their places of work for health insurance. Unfortunately, the only way to fully guarantee the stability of existing employer groups is to make it unlikely that most people enrolled could do better by going outside of them. But this need not be a permanent feature of reform. Once a consumer-driven marketplace is built for everyone else, it will be easier to convince everyone remaining in job-based plans that they could get portable insurance at good rates outside of their employer plan. Leaving the well-insured where they are for now would also allow conservatives to focus the political debate on those who don't have good options today.

The best approach is therefore a federal-state partnership to build a consumer-driven marketplace outside of employer-provided care. In general, it should be something like the program through which federal employees select their coverage every year from competing private insurers. Eligible state residents would have sufficient information about the offerings, and their tax credit would get sent automatically to the plan of their choice. States would be required to ensure that the price and quality differences between competing options were clear, transparent, and easily accessible via the Internet. When residents chose more expensive plans, they would pay the difference out of their own pockets. When they chose less expensive plans, they would get to keep every dollar saved.

The trickiest issues will involve spreading insurance risk. States currently regulate private health insurance, and there is a long and not-so-happy track record of trying to enforce uniform premiums in voluntary marketplaces—which has tended to drive out the young and healthy, raising premiums for everyone else. This will be less of a problem if residents lose their tax credits with non-participation. And here's another way to encourage all residents to sign up for some kind of plan: Offer a time window during which residents who sign up will enjoy certain premium protections if they get sick. Those who miss the window would have to pay higher premiums if they wanted to get insurance later.

States should also give serious consideration to establishing a behind-the-scenes risk-adjustment system among the private insurers offering plans in the new marketplace. Such a mechanism would require these insurers to share revenue from premiums with their competitors based on the risk profiles of those who select their plans, using formulae agreed to in advance. Insurers that ended up with more unhealthy enrollees would thereby get compensation from those covering a healthier-than-average group. This way, insurers would compete with one another by offering better coverage at lower cost, rather than by excluding the people most likely to get sick.

Senator McCain deserves credit for advancing the most important and sweeping conservative reform idea ever put forward—full conversion to a consumer-driven health-care system. But now it's important to convince the public that we can move in that direction without disrupting arrangements that aren't in need of immediate attention. This can be done—and if it is, it will be President Obama who is cast as the radical pushing for unnecessary and greatly harmful changes. **NR**

Ahmadinejad's LAST STAND?

The meaning of Iran's upcoming presidential election

BY AMIR TAHERI

AT first glance, a presidential election in the Islamic Republic of Iran might not arouse much interest. With all candidates pre-approved by the authorities, and the entire electoral process controlled by the government rather than an independent body, the exercise is a far cry from elections in a democracy. Moreover, the Council of Guardians—a twelve-member "star chamber" (six mullahs, six legal experts) answerable only to the Supreme Guide (Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the successor to revolutionary founder Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini)—could cancel the results of the poll. Even if that does not happen, the man elected president cannot assume his function unless he secures an "appointment decree" signed by the Supreme Guide—who can also order the Islamic Majlis, Iran's ersatz parliament, to dismiss him.

Not surprisingly, many analysts in the West minimize the importance of the president in the Khomeinist regime. They argue that since the Supreme Guide makes all the major decisions, the presidency hardly matters. The Obama administration seems to have accepted that analysis and to be basing its Iran policy on a quest for direct contact with Ali Khamenei.

Nevertheless, Iran's presidential election, scheduled for June 12, looks different if one considers it a primary within the ruling Khomeinist establishment. Although all candidates in effect belong to the same "party," it matters who will be in charge of the executive branch in Tehran for the next four years. The winner will have considerable influence on Iran's domestic policy, its regional ambitions, and its relations with the U.S.

The upcoming election—in which the incumbent, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, is running for a second four-year term—is also important because it enables rival factions within the ruling elite to fight out their differences without recourse to violence and bloodshed. The Khomeinists have no qualms about killing real or imagined dissenters from outside the establishment, but critics inside the regime often get a chance to air their views at election time without fearing for their lives. Within the constraints noted above, Iranian elections are genuinely competitive, and the vote counting is fairly honest. Therefore, the election provides a snapshot of the state of opinion among both the ruling elite and Iranian society at large.

That the president makes a difference can be seen by com-

Mr. Taheri is an Iranian-born journalist based in Europe. His latest book is The Persian Night: Iran under the Khomeinist Revolution.

paring Ahmadinejad's performance with that of his immediate predecessor, Mohammad Khatami, who served from 1997 to 2005. Khatami, a mid-ranking mullah, did not abandon any of the regime's strategic goals, nor did he introduce any reforms in domestic or foreign policy. He did, however, tone down the regime's incendiary rhetoric; he kept its terrorist clients, notably the Lebanese Hezbollah and the Palestinian Hamas, on a tight leash; and, as part of a policy of dialogue with the European Union, he agreed to suspend (temporarily) Iran's controversial uranium-enrichment program.

In contrast, Ahmadinejad has sharpened the regime's rhetoric; intensified the policy of attacking American troops in Afghanistan and Iraq; urged Hezbollah into a military clash with Israel, and Hamas into staging a coup against its Fatah rivals in Gaza; and ordered an acceleration of Iran's nuclear program. Where Khatami spoke of a "dialogue of civilizations," perhaps without meaning it, Ahmadinejad talks of a "clash of civilizations," and appears to mean it. (He has hosted international seminars under the titles "A World without America!" and "A World without Israel!")

Khatami engaged in back-channel negotiations with the Clinton administration and offered concessions to the United States in the context of a "grand bargain." In contrast, Ahmadinejad has aimed at "total victory" over the American "Great Satan," and he claimed to have won when, in March, Barack Obama sent a message with a tone of supplication to the Khomeinist rulers on the occasion of Iran's New Year.

Rhetoric aside, the Supreme Guide still has the final say on all major policy decisions. But by controlling the resources of the state, including the all-important oil revenues, and appointing thousands of high-ranking functionaries in a highly centralized system of government, the president enjoys far more power than it might appear at first glance. Using this power, for the past four years Ahmadinejad has set Iran's agenda in accordance with his own radical reading of the Khomeinist message. And the Supreme Guide has considered it prudent to endorse the president's radicalism.

Within the current hybrid system, a mixture of the French Fifth Republic and imaginary Islamic principles of government, the Iranian presidency can function in a number of ways. Ahmadinejad's predecessors have followed many different paths. The first president of the Islamic Republic, Abolhassan Bani-Sadr (1980–81), saw himself as the symbol of Iranian statehood. He tried to use his powers as a counterbalance to those of the Supreme Guide, who was the symbol of the Islamic revolution. Bani-Sadr's argument was that, with the fall of the shah, the era of revolution had to be brought to a close so that Iran could reemerge as a stable nation-state. Bani-Sadr lost, not only because he was no match for the Ayatollah Khomeini, the Supreme Guide of the time, but also because Iran had not yet overcome its revolutionary fever.

The second president, Mohammad Ali Rajai, saw the presidency as an instrument of continuing revolution—spreading Islamic rule throughout the Middle East and the world—alongside the Supreme Guide. Unfortunately for Rajai, his presidency lasted just 16 days in August 1981 before he was assassinated. But a quarter of a century later, it was his model that Ahmadinejad claimed to have adopted. The third president was Ali Khamenei (1981–89), then a junior cleric. In contrast with Rajai, he regarded the presidency as a largely ceremonial function, leaving executive power to be exercised by the prime minister. (In 1989, the post of prime minister was abolished in a constitutional amendment; that same year, Ayatollah Khomeini died and Khamenei succeeded him as Supreme Guide, which he remains today.)

The fourth president, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (1989–97), also a junior cleric, brought the executive branch under presidential control and at first decreased the role of the Supreme Guide. From a political standpoint, however, Rafsanjani's mistake was to use his position to amass a fortune for himself and his entourage (he is now reputed to be the richest man in Iran). While Rafsanjani went for money, Khamenei went for power, so by the mid-1990s the balance within the Khomeinist establishment had began to tilt back in favor of the Supreme Guide.

The fifth president, Khatami, tried to restore some of the office's influence and exercise his function alongside that of Khamenei. But since he was not one of the historic figures of the revolution, he lacked the stature to rival the Supreme Guide as Bani-Sadr and Rafsanjani had done. The sixth and current president, Ahmadinejad, has his own understanding of his office's function. He sees the presidency as the vanguard of the Islamic revolution, especially in promoting its global ambitions (in part by backing militias and terrorists in other countries). In his schema, the office of the Supreme Guide represents the headquarters of the revolution, while the president acts as its field commander.

AHMADINEJAD is the first president to be elected against the implicit wishes of the Supreme Guide. In the 2005 election, Khamenei's favored candidate was Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf, a brigadier general of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), who ended up fourth in the polls. (Khamenei's son served as Qalibaf's chief campaign manager.) Over the past four years, however, Ahmadinejad appears to have charmed the Supreme Guide with a mixture of studied deference and shameless flattery. This is why many observers believe that, despite efforts by some to promote a second Qalibaf candidacy, Khamenei may be more than happy to help Ahmadinejad stay in power for four more years.

Nevertheless, Ahmadinejad's victory is far from certain. Some even suggest that he might be persuaded by "friends" to withdraw from the race, perhaps citing health reasons. The Obama administration, although prepared to bend over backward to please Tehran, would certainly love to see the back of Ahmadinejad, whose rabid anti-Americanism and denial of the Holocaust make him a problematic interlocutor.

Paradoxically, however, Obama's election has improved Ahmadinejad's chances of reelection. Reports that Washington is preparing public opinion to swallow Iran's nuclear program as a fait accompli have also helped boost Ahmadinejad's prospects. One common view is that voters in the Islamic Republic will see no reason to jettison a president who managed to outlive "Bully Bush" without conceding an inch and is now about to rub Obama's nose in the dust.

Still, Ahmadinejad may be vulnerable, on three grounds. To start with, his presidency has been the most divisive since the establishment of the Islamic Republic in 1980. He is popular with the radical Khomeinist base and enjoys strong support from the IRGC, the regime's Praetorian Guard. Yet middle-class Iranians, who see him as a "peasant come to town" character exaggerating his revolutionary zeal to please his clerical masters, despise him. One reason for the quick and easy victory of the Khomeinist revolution was the late ayatollah's success in reassuring the middle classes that it would not threaten their traditions and privileges. The populist and fanatical Ahmadinejad, however, frightens the middle classes, who remain powerful even in a system that claims legitimacy as "the revolution of the dispossessed."

A massive mobilization of middle-class voters could make it hard for the government to arrange the results to ensure Ahmadinejad's victory. There is a precedent for this. In 1997, a record number of middle-class voters went to the polls to prevent Ayatollah Ali Akbar Nateq-Nouri, the regime's favored candidate, from winning the presidency. Instead, they helped elect Khatami, who had entered the race only weeks before and had only a small machine behind him.

The second reason Ahmadinejad is vulnerable is Iran's deepening economic crisis, brought on by a combination of falling oil revenues and a series of expensive populist measures. In March 2009, inflation was running at around 30 percent a year, an all-time high, while an average of 3,000 people were losing their jobs each day. To save his government from bankruptcy, Ahmadinejad has had to severely cut subsidies designed to help the very poor, who provide his strongest support base. If these masses stay away from the polls or vote for another candidate in protest, Ahmadinejad will be in trouble.

At the other end of Iranian society, the nation's business leaders may put forward a candidate who would scrap Ahmadinejad's populist policies, work to ease tensions with the outside world, and secure access to the financial and capital resources that are needed to weather the current storm. For example, the Islamic Republic may have to seek emergency loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in 2010 and 2011. The risk of facing a Western veto within the two institutions will be considerably lower if someone other than Ahmadinejad is in charge.

There is a third reason, perhaps the most important, that Ahmadinejad cannot be certain of victory. Some powerful figures within the religious establishment suspect Ahmadinejad and his IRGC supporters of trying to reduce the role of clerics in politics by claiming a direct link with the "Hidden Imam," the last of the Twelve Imams of medieval days who are revered by "duodecimal" Shiites. According to prophecy, the Twelfth Imam will someday return to earth and, after an apocalyptic battle, usher in a reign of peace and spirituality. Since becoming president, Ahmadinejad has repeatedly hinted that he considers himself the Twelfth Imam's deputy on earth, or else that his role is to prepare the world for the Imam's return. Iran's religious establishment sees this as a heretical challenge to their authority.

While Ahmadinejad has tried to charm Khamenei with obsequiousness and flattery, in practice he has indeed lowered the profile of the mullahs in Iranian politics. Ahmadinejad is the first non-mullah since Rajai to serve as president. Under him, the number of mullahs in the Islamic Majlis has fallen from 94 to 27 (out of a total of 290 members). Ahmadinejad has also flushed hundreds of mullahs out of lucrative public offices. Singling out fat-cat mullahs for attacks is a constant theme of his populist discourse. Does it require much imagination to guess that Ahmadinejad, underneath all his Twelfth Imam talk, might have a secret agenda aimed at marginalizing the Supreme Guide and reorganizing the Islamic Republic as something closer to a secular revolutionary state?

One sign that Ahmadinejad may have a rough fight ahead is the decision by a rival faction within the establishment to field its strongest available candidate against him. For the last 20 years, Mir-Hussein Mussavi Khamenei has been mentioned as a possible candidate in successive presidential elections. In 1989 he was expected to enter the race to prevent Rafsanjani from becoming president. He did not. Eight years later, there was much buzz about his possible candidacy among those who expected him to represent the radical (i.e., religious) faction. Again, he decided to remain on the sidelines, giving tacit support to Khatami.

This winter, when Mussavi's name began circulating as a possible challenger to Ahmadinejad, few believed he would actually throw his hat into the ring. But in March, he did just that. This time he is being presented as the standard-bearer of the "reformist" faction. Khatami, who had announced his own candidacy, promptly stepped aside in favor of Mussavi. (Iranian presidents may succeed themselves only once, but there is no bar to leaving office and then returning to succeed a different president.) One reason for Khatami's withdrawal was the campaign of vilification launched against him by the official media, which are controlled by Ahmadinejad. Khatami was accused of participating in a "global plot," allegedly hatched by Freemasons and the Bilderberg Group (an organization of Western political and business leaders who meet annually and are the subject of many conspiracy theories), to "secularize the Islamic Republic." The official media also questioned the sources of funding for the Baran Foundation, a think tank created by Khatami.

With Khatami out of the race, there is talk that the mullah Mehdi Karrubi, another declared candidate, may also withdraw in favor of Mussavi. Thus, the stage seems set for Ahmadinejad's main opponents in the "moderate" wing of the regime to unite behind a single candidate.

WHO is Mussavi, or Mir-Hussein, as his friends prefer to call him?

Born into a family of Azerbaijani origin 67 years ago, Mir-Hussein grew up in Tehran, where he obtained a master's degree in interior decorating, hence his title of "muhandess" ("engineer"). (Khomeinists attach great importance to titles. Ahmadinejad seldom forgets to mention that he has a Ph.D. in engineering.)

Mussavi's family hails from Khameneh, the same village that produced the family of Ali Khamenei. The family claims descent from Moussa ibn Jaafar, the Seventh Imam of duodecimal Shiism. Based on that claim, Mussavi at times uses the title of "sayyed" ("sir") to underline his noble Arab ancestry.

A painter and calligrapher, Mussavi has been president of the Iranian Academy of Art since 1990. After a brief flirtation with Marxism in the 1960s, he joined the thousands of educated middle-class Iranians who believed that only Islam could unite the people in a bid to destroy the country's ancient monarchic system. The radical mullahs who pulled the strings in the late-

1970s revolution used these middle-class allies to reassure urban Iran that regime change would not mean rule by the clergy.

Mussavi's rise within the new regime was meteoric. In 1980 he became foreign minister, a position he used to accelerate the Islamic Republic's move toward a militant anti-Western posture. In 1981 he became prime minister, a post he held for almost eight years. His premiership coincided with the Iran–Iraq war, during which he introduced rationing and austerity measures that hit the poor the hardest. His critics accused him of pursuing an economic policy modeled on North Korea's "self-reliance" doctrine and blamed him for a dramatic fall in Iranian living standards.

In 1985, with the war still raging, Mussavi began secret negotiations with the U.S., hoping to get America's help in the fight against Iraq. A few months later Rafsanjani, then speaker of the Majlis, opened a parallel secret channel to the Reagan administration, sabotaging Mussavi's efforts to seek normalization with the Great Satan. This was the beginning of the Iran-Contra affair.

The two Iranian factions vied with each other for influence until, at some point in 1985, the Reagan administration decided that the Rafsanjani faction was potentially the more powerful and ended its contact with Mussavi. That prompted Mussavi to expose the Rafsanjani operation through a Lebanese magazine financed by his government. The ensuing scandal led to the shutting down of all channels between Tehran and Washington.

The episode enraged Rafsanjani. Once Khomeini was dead, in 1989, he engineered a constitutional amendment that abolished the post of prime minister, leaving Mussavi out in the cold, and got himself elected president. In one of those ironies of history, Rafsanjani now supports Mussavi as the lesser of two evils compared with Ahmadinejad.

After a silence of almost 20 years, no one knows what Mussavi's politics are today. Is he the North Korean–style firebrand he was as a wartime prime minister? Or has he matured into an elder statesman with moderate views? The few statements he has made since announcing his candidacy have been marked by generalities, double talk, and slogans that could be interpreted any which way. He has said little on foreign policy. But the fact that he has not repeated the regime's standard anti-American clichés may be a sign that he rejects Ahmadinejad's policy of confrontation.

He has distanced himself from Ahmadinejad's denial of the Holocaust, saying: "The crime has taken place, why deny it?" He has also said that although Iran's nuclear program is "non-negotiable," he would not rule out "adopting different ways of doing things" to defuse the diplomatic tension. Mussavi's friends describe him as "reformist," although he has given no hint of what he intends to reform.

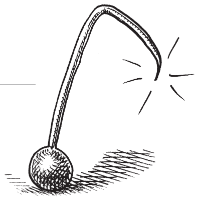
Some Tehran analysts suggest that Khamenei may favor Mussavi, with whom he shares ethnic and family links (not to mention three decades of personal friendship), over Ahmadinejad, who has built his career with no help from the Supreme Guide. Mussavi has no significant constituency of his own and thus, unlike Ahmadinejad, is in no position to harbor dreams of reducing the role of the Supreme Guide. Finally, if and when Khamenei decides to welcome Obama's outstretched hand, Mussavi, who has a history of negotiating with the Americans, might find it easier to enter the talks with an open mind. Ahmadinejad, carried away by his own rhetoric, might press for too many concessions from Obama, especially with regard to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, forcing the U.S. to withdraw its olive branch.

Since candidates have until early May to register formally, several other figures may yet enter the race. One possibility is Ali Larijani, the speaker of the Majlis, who was the European Union's favorite candidate in the 2005 presidential election. Qalibaf, too, is putting together a campaign organization, presumably while waiting for a signal from the Supreme Guide. One sign that it might not be all plain sailing for Ahmadinejad is the candidacy of Mohsen Rezai, a former commander of the IRGC, who is certain to divide the radical Khomeinist vote. There is also a dark horse: Gen. Yahya Rahim Safavi, another former commander of the IRGC, who may attract a good part of Ahmadinejad's constituency within the military and security services. There is even talk of Abdullah Nuri, a former interior minister often referred to as "Iran's Yeltsin." However, Nuri is the *bête noire* of the mullahs, including Khamenei, and his entry in the race would be seen as a direct attempt at regime change through elections.

Mir-Hussein Mussavi Khamenei

ATTA KENARE/AFP

The coming election has already presented a novel feature: It is the first in a quarter of a century in which none of the principal candidates is a mullah. The election may have other surprises in store that could affect Iran's behavior in the next four years. For example, could it become the first presidential election in the Islamic Republic to be lost by an incumbent? For Iran, America, and the rest of the world, the answer holds much more than historical interest. **NR**



The Bent Pin

BY FLORENCE KING

Pleasantly Peasantry

THE sudden transformation of the American consumer from drunken sailor to Silas Marner is the talk of the economic meltdown. After barely a year of hard times, we have turned into a nation of newly minted pennypinchers.

Many of the commentators are plainly nonplused in the head-shaking, who'd-a-thunk-it fashion. Other reactions have been more sonorous, like *Time*'s cover story "The New Frugality," which muses over what it all says about the direction of the national character. Will we, they ask, revert to our spendthrift ways when the economy improves, telling ourselves as we have in the past that our spending is what keeps it afloat? Or will a new kind of American emerge, less optimistic and more prudent, who, undeterred by the return of good times, keeps right on clipping grocery coupons and eating at home to save money to put into his savings account?

After reminding us that belt-tightening practices tend not to last more than one generation, becoming permanent only among those who actually suffered want first-hand, *Time* comes to a fork in the road and takes it, explaining in their meticulously balanced way that the American people are learning that a strong economy must be powered by both wise spending and wise saving.

No subject as interesting as this one could possibly lend itself to a balanced analysis. What struck me most about our newly minted pennypinchers was the good mood they were in. The lifestyle sections of newspapers were full of cheerful stories about women shopping for clothes at the Goodwill and Salvation Army thrift stores. They were not poor women, but suburbanites for the most part, and they had no objections to giving their names and being photographed. As the trend went on, we saw TV segments of people bartering, planting their first gardens, laughing hysterically in front of Big Lots as they tried to pick up the first hundred-pound bag of dog food they ever bought, and gloating contentedly as they counted up how much they saved with their grocery coupons. This was no giddy "It's fun to be poor" interlude but a realistic resolve to make the best of things free of embarrassment or shame, with more good-natured patience on display than we are used to seeing in movie lines, not to mention rush-hour traffic.

In short, they were happy—happy that they were probably going broke; happy that their jobs might be on the block; happy that the country might well be on the verge of collapse; happy that another Great Depression could be just around the corner. How can this be? The answer just might be found in that place that Maupassant called "the underside of things." Nobody calls it that anymore but his allusion to the dark side of the human psyche is still heard in an updated form whenever someone brushes too close to the truth and catches himself with what has become our national nervous-laugh line: "I don't want to go there."

I do. There's no place I'd rather be. I think the newly minted pennypinchers secretly welcome the economic meltdown because it frees them from the merciless demands of the American Dream.

This is the real waterboarding and we have been torturing ourselves with it for over 60 years. After WWII, G.I. Bills for college tuition and government-backed mortgages came close to upclassing an entire society and changed the social assumptions of centuries. Ordinary people became extraordinary and everything followed suit, starting with credit cards for all and going on to bigger and easier mortgages, two cars (one for each garage), exotic tropical vacations instead of a week at the beach, summer camp, hot tubs, and weekend "getaways" for people who had nothing to get away from. To keep it all going, Americans were encouraged to keep up with the Joneses and find their identity in "You are what you buy," but now the specter of financial chaos has given them permission to say, "Let me off the striver hook and tell me what class I belong to."

They might well ask. Political pollsters toss around "middle class," "lower middle class," "working class," "blue-collar class," "college-educated class," "some-college class," "non-college class," and "high-school-or-less class." Add a few noms de guerre such as "Six-Pack This" and "Lunch-Box That," and, lest we forget, the latest distinction: the class of people who shower before work and the class of people who shower after work. Endless self-definition can kill. We are trapped in a class-flu pandemic and the only available vaccine is the fantasy of the happy peasant.

The most merciless demand of the American Dream is sending one's children to college, but the cost—and I don't mean tuition—has proved too painful for too many families for too long. Anyone who fits the politician's boast of being "the first member of my family to go to college" has inadvertently played a part in a drama of weakened family ties. To get the show on the road, the father must put himself down: "Don't be like me, make something of yourself." To back him up, the mother must put him down: "Don't be like him, make something of yourself." It's a symbolic parricide that no one will ever acknowledge, but they know it's there, and it hurts and ultimately enrages.

If the first college graduate becomes a success, all is well. But if he doesn't, he exposes an ambivalence that was supposed to stay under wraps, because then the parricide is turned on him: "Why can't you make something of yourself?" The more he fails the worse it gets. "All that education! . . . They said you showed such promise! . . . Didn't you learn anything?" Actually, he did. One night when the family is watching TV, he is able to tell them that "lugubrious" means sad, whereupon they turn on him and snarl: "Stop showing off your big words! You think you're better than us just because you went to college!"

Happy peasants don't have to put up with this. **NR**

Florence King can be reached at P.O. Box 7113, Fredericksburg, VA 22404.

The Long View BY ROB LONG

The Literary Arlen Specter

From the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, trans. Arlen Specter:

[Enter Chorus of Argive elders, very old men who carry staves to help them stand up. As they speak, servants come out of the palace and light oil lamps in offering to the statues of the gods outside the palace doors.]

CHORUS:

But when Agamemnon strapped on the harsh yoke of necessity, his spirits changed, and his intentions became profane, unholy, unsanctified. He undertook an act beyond all daring.

Troubles come, above all, from delusions, inciting men to rash designs, to evil. So Agamemnon steeled his heart to make his own daughter the sacrifice, an offering for the Achaean fleet, so he could prosecute the war waged to avenge that woman Helen.

When, honestly, he could have just said something like, "You know, those Trojans aren't so bad. I wonder if they could use a hand or something," and then with mighty courage he could have steeled his heart (or whatever) and headed over to Troy to see what's up. Seriously. What's so great about Helen? Got a sweet little setup here, let's not rock the boat.

[Exit Chorus]

From *The Art of War* by Sun Tzu, trans. Arlen Specter:

CHAPTER: "MARCHES"

Generally, when taking up a position and confronting the enemy, having crossed the mountains, stay close to the valleys. Encamp on high ground facing the sunny side. Fight downhill; do not ascend to attack.

Also, consider the possibility of switching sides. Especially if the enemy is encamped on the sunny side. This will enable you to remain in your current position without returning home to a drab lifestyle with few perks.

CHAPTER: "THE EMPLOYMENT OF SECRET AGENTS"

One who confronts his enemy for many years in order to struggle for victory in a decisive battle yet who, because he begrudges rank, honors, and a few hundred pieces of gold, remains ignorant of his enemy's situation, is completely devoid of humanity. Such a man is no general, no support to sovereign, no master of victory.

On the other hand, and this may just be me talking, the whole "our side/their side" deal gets old pretty fast. The key—at least in my opinion—is to keep your options open. Does the other side have cooler uniforms? Does your side get irritated with you? These are things to think about. The goal here isn't to win this or that battle, to get this or that thing accomplished. No, the goal is stay in your old office, with your excellent parking and great bennies.

From *Henry V* by William Shakespeare, ed. Arlen Specter:

O, do not wish one more!
Rather proclaim it, Harry Reid,
through my host,
That I which hath no stomach to
this fight,
I shall depart; my passport shall be
made,
And crowns for convoy put into
my purse;
Why stick around when, basically,
I might lose
To Pat Toomey, which would be
totally infuriating?
This day is call'd the feast of
Crispian.
He that outlives this day, and
comes safe home,
Will stand a tip-toe when this day
is nam'd,
And rouse him at the name of
Crispian.
But, you know, to be fair,
The only way to survive the day is
to think to yourself:
Hey, what's the beef with the
French again?
I mean, think about this: better
food, that's number one,
And so we have to speak French
and bend a little.
Is that such a big deal?
Really?
And gentlemen in England
now-a-bed
Shall think themselves accurs'd
they were not here,
And hold their manhoods cheap,
which isn't such a bad thing,
All in.

From *The Collected Speeches of Winston Churchill*, ed. Arlen Specter:

We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender unless, you know, it's like suddenly it's like, we may actually lose this thing, in which case, let's all take a deep breath and really start to prioritize stuff, really start to add up the pros and cons of this whole deal. Switching sides has gotten a pretty bad rap, I agree, but when you really dig down and think, really think, about it all, it's not really such a bad idea. Just sayin'.

Is There an American Mind?

ALLEN C. GUELZO

Do Americans have minds?

Of course not. "The greater part of the public, and a greater part even of the intelligent and alert public, is simply non-intellectual," declared Richard Hofstadter in his bluntly titled *Anti-intellectualism in American Life* in 1963. Of course not, agreed Daniel Boorstin, Hofstadter's contemporary and (in many ways) nemesis. "When," Boorstin asked, "has a culture owed so little to its few 'great' minds or its few hereditarily fortunate men and women?" Of course not, chortled Henry Louis Mencken, the king of the debunkers, in the 1920s. Precisely because America was the great engine of democracy, it was also the ruthless engine of populism, the land of what Mencken snarlingly called "the booboisie," "boobus Americanus," or the "boobocracy."

We could, in fact, create quite a long list of testimonies about American mindlessness, and it would include Ralph Waldo Emerson, Frederick Jackson Turner, James Fenimore Cooper, and Alexis de Tocqueville (who was dismayed to find that "there is no country in the civilized world" with "fewer great artists, illustrious poets, and celebrated writers").

But American conservatives have never been quite sure about whether to endorse these bleak declarations. On one hand, the populist strain of American conservatism has always believed that Americans are doers more than thinkers; practical problem-solvers, not reckless theorists. And the "long march" of the Left through American colleges and universities since the 1960s has only reinforced the populists' conviction that the genius of America lies somewhere else than in the minds of those who think for a living. The populists' majority is not so much silent, or even moral, but proudly inarticulate, because (like Billy Budd) virtue itself is simple and self-evident.

But for many other conservatives, populism is a dance with the devil, and American mindlessness is precisely what makes us prey to demagogues and pundits. They argue that it was ideas, not personalities, that fueled the Reagan Revolution, and the future must lie in developing a new constellation of ideas to replace the used-up ones of the 1980s. But they are not optimistic. They are not NASCAR dads or hockey moms; they sit alone at the ballet, and listen guiltily and angrily to NPR. They are the party, not of Lincoln, but of Cassandra, convinced even before they speak that, in America, they probably won't be listened to anyway.

They are also wrong. As are the populists. America has always been the nation of theory, not practice; it was built around ideas (even upon a "proposition") from the moment the first idea-haunted Pilgrim stepped off onto Plymouth Rock. And it is the stupendous conceit of the Left, not of conservatism, to believe otherwise, or to despair otherwise.

"When foreigners accuse us of extraordinary love for gain, and of practical materialism, they fail to see how largely we are a nation of idealists," complained the Harvard philosopher Josiah Royce in 1897. We wouldn't know this, however, if we judged by the way the history of American ideas is usually taught. Take, as a recent instance, William Goetzmann's new *Beyond the Revolution: A History of American Thought from Paine to Pragmatism* (Basic, 480 pp., $35). The America of Tom Paine "was a country of diversity and vastness," but also of "vagueness." This "vagueness" Goetzmann assumes to be a virtue in its own right, since it permitted Americans "to constantly redefine themselves" for a century after Paine "in search of an ideal—freedom." At last, in the 1890s, Americans invented Pragmatism, which turned this incessant reinvention into a philosophy of its own, whose chief accomplishment was to abolish any "moral guides" on reinvention. The chief accomplishment of American thought is thus to free itself—from thought.

This is not entirely Goetzmann's fault, since Goetzmann is only following what I'll call, for simplicity's sake, the "Harvard Narrative" of American intellectual history, a pattern laid down since the 1920s by a quartet of great Harvardians—Perry Miller, Samuel Eliot Morison, Vernon Louis Parrington, and Ralph Barton Perry. The Harvard Narrative proceeds like this: Begin with the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay in the 1630s. Touch, if you like, on the fact that these Puritans possessed a university-trained leadership and organized themselves around a university-trained clergy, sunk deeply in theology and medieval scholasticism. But be sure to dismiss this as little more than some very dense holy-rolling, and simply note in passing that the Puritans founded Harvard College only six years after settling Boston.

Move as quickly as decency permits to Jonathan Edwards. Not that Edwards is all that interesting as a thinker, but treat him as undoubtedly the last example of whatever thinking the Puritans did. Dwell at length on his role as a hell-fire preacher during the Great Awakening of the 1740s. But dwell even more on the fact that the Awakening died out by 1742, and that Edwards was fired from his job as pastor of his church in 1750 and died just as he was assuming the presidency of Princeton in 1758. Let him stand as a sign of how badly America treats its thinkers, but somehow simultaneously make him out to be not much of a thinker at all.

This is the last time you will actually need to worry about ideas in this history of American ideas, because you are now ready for an introduction to Benjamin Franklin, the model American and proto-Pragmatist—practical, commonsensical, businesslike, and born with an eye to the main chance. There is room, within the Harvard Narrative, to talk a little bit about the ideology of the American Revolutionaries—as articulated by another great Harvardian, Bernard Bailyn, in his *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (1967)—but let Franklin stay at front stage. Jump from there to Ralph Waldo Emerson and the Transcendentalists, a few New England Renaissance novelists (Melville, Hawthorne), and then you're prepared to herald the arrival of

Mr. Guelzo is the Henry R. Luce professor of the Civil War era at Gettysburg College.

William James and John Dewey, and the triumph of Pragmatism as the first, true, and only American philosophy—precisely because it is a philosophy that sees no intrinsic use for ideas, and uses them only as instruments for obtaining results. Goetzmann's *Beyond the Revolution* is actually content to end with Pragmatism, as though Game Over had popped up on the screen sometime in the mid-1890s. The rest, we can assume, is just details. Within this narrative, there are really only two messages: how we escaped the influence of religion, and why all American intellectual roads lead to Pragmatism.

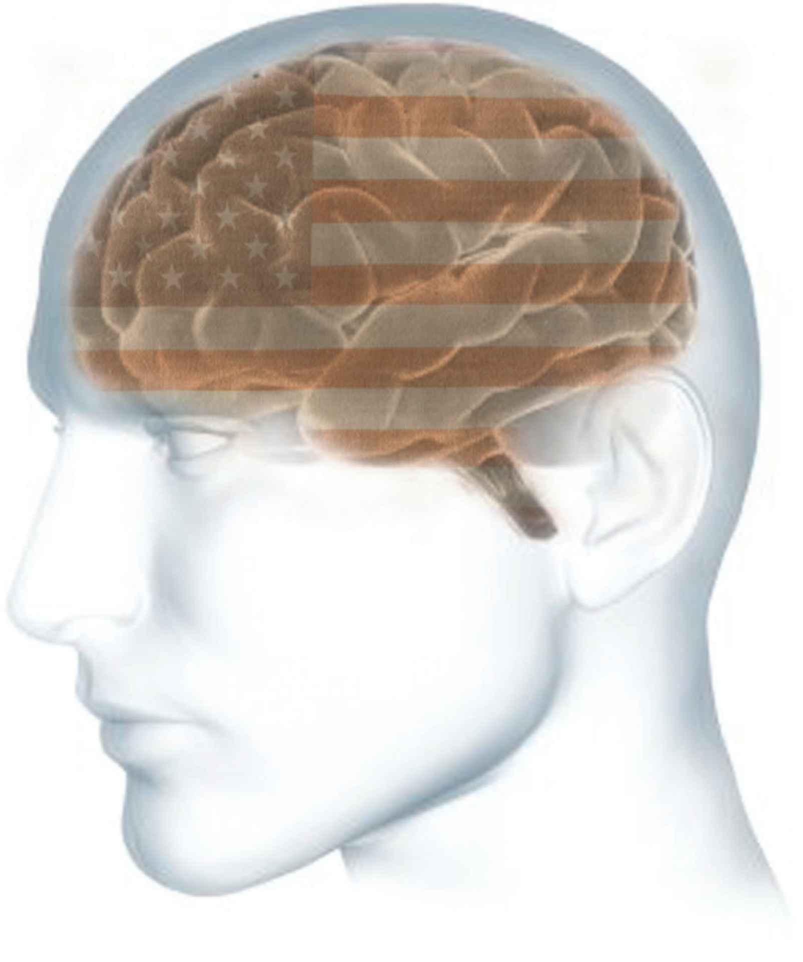
There is, however, a difficulty with the Harvard Narrative—or rather, there are three difficulties. The first is that, the more you look at it, the more apples and oranges get packed into the same crate. Notice that these writers represent different and largely incompatible genres. Edwards's collected writings, in the modern Yale edition, run to 26 volumes, and span everything from parish sermons to full-fledged treatises on ethics. Franklin's only philosophical work was a youthful essay on free will; it was his *Experiments and Observations on Electricity* in 1751 that made him world-famous. Emerson never wrote a book longer than 45 pages. He was an essayist who specialized in the miniature (at a time when writing miniatures for literary reviews still paid pretty handsomely), and earned most of his celebrity as a popular lecturer.

The second problem is that a lot of the narrative is suspiciously concentrated around one location: Cambridge. That is a product, in large measure, of the dominance of Harvard and Harvard-trained academics among the historians of American philosophy. (For decades, the mainstay Harvard history-department course in American ideas was taught in Emerson Hall, beneath a group portrait featuring James and Royce.) True, Harvard has played a major role in American intellectual life. But the Narrative's preoccupation with Great Harvardians is a little like an attempt to write the history of music in America as though it were the story of the Metropolitan Opera.

The third and most serious problem that the Harvard Narrative presents is the tidy way it tucks everyone in its grasp into a single seamless account, like one of those charts showing the development of *Homo sapiens* from a cringing monkey to an upright man. Like those charts, this master narrative must pretend not to know of any missing links. It must not know, or seem to know, that between the day the Puritans founded Harvard and the day Edwards began preaching stretches an entire century in which New Englanders wrestled mightily with the impact on the intellectual world of Cartesian epistemology and Newtonian science; that Edwards shaped the creation of two generations of independent preachers and theological thinkers who applied his creative adaptations of Descartes and Newton to questions of personal identity, knowledge, and religion; that Franklin's adopted home of Philadelphia belonged—at least intellectually—not to Franklin but to the Enlightenment; and that this latter movement, instead of standing aloof from the religious concerns of evangelical Awakeners like Edwards, actually incorporated them, and produced a generous flowering of writing on what 18th-century *philosophes* called "moral philosophy," with its roots in the Scottish Enlightenment and its headquarters in Philadelphia.

The moral-philosophy tradition was a speculative mix of natural-law ethics with overtones of Christian orthodoxy minimal enough to prevent any Jeffersonian vigilantes from decrying it as a stalking horse for public religion. It found formidable academic evangelists in Harvard's Francis Bowen, Yale's Noah Porter, Williams College's Mark Hopkins, Oberlin College's Charles G. Finney (also a hell-fire preacher on the Edwards model), Princeton College's James McCosh, and Princeton Theological Seminary's Archibald Alexander and Charles Hodge. And it produced a counterpart in political theory in the ideology of the American Whig party, represented by Henry Carey, Francis Wayland, and Abraham Lincoln. Wayland's *Elements of Moral Science* (1835) sold 40,000 copies in its first 15 years and 100,000 during its life in print. By contrast with Wayland, Emerson and the Transcendentalists were Romantic lightweights.

I mean "Romantic" in a very specific sense, too. Puritanism, and its renewal by Edwards in the 1740s, opposed much of what the Enlightenment stood for. Puritans and Edwardseans were people of religious



faith, and accepted certain truths about God and the world as they were described in the Bible; and many of those truths were sorted out and shaped by the theology of John Calvin, and by the experience of religious individualism and moral rigor laid down by the first Puritan generation. But Puritanism had more flex in it than we often think, and even Edwards's fiery evangelicalism had an overlap with the Enlightenment in its respect for reason and universal moral principles. Puritanism and the Enlightenment represent the "two souls" of American intellectual history, but they were souls that could inhabit the same body without always inducing schizophrenia.

Romanticism was another matter. The Enlightenment's dedication to reason, nature, and science paled on succeeding European generations, and during the "long 19th century" between the French Revolution and World War I, a massive counter-movement against the Enlightenment appeared, which denounced reason as stale and tedious, and exalted feeling; which looked for nature, not in order to control it, but to adore it; and which saw science as a mean, groveling pursuit compared with the search after the experience of the sublime (and sometimes the neurotic). The Enlightenment believed that all real questions had real answers, and that these answers were knowable and universally compatible with one another. The Romantics disagreed: Reason was a limited and broken tool and did not reveal half of what it claimed to reveal about the world; people wanted to be guided by passion rather than reason; and what appeared true to some people was not necessarily true for others or other cultures. Consequently, Emerson is really linked not to Franklin or to Pragmatism, but to the European Romantics—to the later Kant, to Hegel and Chateaubriand. (In fact, Emerson and the Transcendentalists were not even the best representatives of the transition of Romanticism to America. That laurel belongs instead to the Romantic theologians—John Williamson Nevin at the Mercersburg theological seminary, and the Connecticut Congregationalist Horace Bushnell—and the Romantic politicians who flew the banner of southern agrarianism, John Randolph of Roanoke and John C. Calhoun.)

However, the Harvard Narrative is right on at least one point, and that is the revolutionary upthrust of Pragmatism at Harvard after the Civil War. Nothing could represent a more dramatic intellectual break with the moral philosophers' pursuit of truth, hard-wired into the natural order of things, than Pragmatism. The architects of Pragmatism—Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, and (to a lesser degree) Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.—shrank in horror from the carnage of the Civil War, convinced that the pursuit of truth was what turned men into absolutists and sent them into battle with each other. Peirce and James rejected the idea that truth was a set of beliefs or propositions that corresponded to an eternal natural order of right and wrong. Truth, by their reckoning, was what gave people satisfaction, irrespective of what form it took. (James did insist, in his proper and genteel fashion, that such satisfaction should not arise from the unnecessarily irrational; Peirce was not so discriminating, and found his satisfactions in wine, women, and prodigal spending.) Truth was, to borrow a term from Kant, *pragmatic*. And nothing was worth calling truth, James announced, unless it offered "a doctrine of *relief*."

It was John Dewey, however, who transformed Pragmatism from a sort of philosophical therapy into a grand scheme of educational and social reconstruction. Dewey's demand for "Reconstruction in Society" had no use for religion or any other form of absolute truth. What mattered was the creation of a pragmatic society in which everyone enjoyed fairness, worried only about solving immediate problems by generally agreed means, and got along happily—like a gigantic but carefully managed school recess. Not intellectual questions, but social solutions, were of genuine interest to Pragmatism. Dewey's social Pragmatism, in turn, appealed deeply to a new industrial class of white-collar managers and bureaucrats, from Woodrow Wilson to Frederick Winslow Taylor (the first industrial "efficiency expert"). These were the unsmiling, untheoretical problem-solvers who formed the backbone of turn-of-the-century Progressive politics, and they became the grandfathers of the New Deal and the Great Society.

Grant the fundamental premises of Pragmatism—that no truth exists apart from satisfaction, that no nation or principle is worth dying for, and that all human inequities are merely problems awaiting the application of intelligence—and they will burn a swath of anti-intellectualism so wide no American mind worth noticing will ever seem to have existed.

Thus began the "Pragmatic Captivity" of American ideas, for not only were the reigning American philosophers of the 20th century mostly a set of variations on Pragmatism (think here of Willard Quine, C. I. Lewis, and Richard Rorty), but the remainder faded from the public sphere, more and more concerned with the analysis of language than with questions of ethics or knowledge. In the heyday of the moral-philosophy tradition, a professional politician like Abraham Lincoln (according to William Herndon) "ate up, digested, and assimilated" Wayland's *Elements of Political Economy*. Today it would be difficult to imagine any modern president's committing himself to reading Saul Kripke or Hilary Putnam with the same ardor. Philosophers who took James seriously—and it was hard not to—discovered from this that they had signed the death warrant for their own

THE INHERITANCE

Blond, you favored your mother,
But named John, after your dad,
You inherited all he had:
A farm in debt, an old hound,
Long-horns and Rhode Island Reds,
Guinea and pea fowl,
A family of kids to be fed,
A well going dry,
Leafhoppers on the vines,
The vines needing to be pruned
And the grapes harvested.
Seventeen when he died,
You locked yourself in the cab
Of his cattle truck and cried
For days. On the third day
You must have resolved to keep
The bill collectors at bay,
Keep the farm going,
Keep the family fed.
You must have promised him
You'd do whatever you both knew
Would still need doing.
Anyway, that's what I guess,
Seeing that's what you did,
A skinny high-school kid,
Shouldering the whole mess.

—OLIVIA ELLIS SIMPSON

Medical Identity Theft Causes Life-Threatening Discrepancies

PROTECT YOURSELF WITH LIFELOCK

Identity theft is one of the fastest growing crimes in the nation. And while this crime can be financially painful, there is a newer segment of theft that can also prove fatal.

Medical identity theft is when someone obtains prescription drugs or seeks out medical attention using your name and information. When you fall victim, not only can you be left with staggering bills for procedures you didn't receive, in an emergency your life can be placed at risk if your medical records contain inaccurate information.

Identity theft rose 22% last year for a five-year high of nearly 10 million victims*. That's another identity stolen every three seconds, but the next victim doesn't have to be you.

As the leader in identity theft protection, LifeLock works to stop identity theft before it happens to you – even if your information falls into the wrong hands. And if our service doesn't work as promised, we'll help fix it at our expense, up to $1 million. That's our $1 Million Total Service Guarantee*.

Now you can experience the same peace of mind every LifeLock member does, because during this special offer, LifeLock is giving all National Review subscribers **30 days FREE***, plus **10% off** LifeLock membership. Don't wait. Protect yourself today.

Todd Davis
CEO, LifeLock
SSN: 457-55-5462

LifeLock®

#1 In Identity Theft Protection™

30 DAYS FREE + 10% OFF

PROMO CODE **NATIONALREVIEW**

LIFELOCK.COM 1-800-LIFELOCK (543-3562)

*At the end of the 30 day free period your credit card will be billed automatically ($10 monthly plan/$110 annual plan) unless you cancel within the 30 day period. You can cancel anytime without penalty by calling 1-800-LifeLock. †See LifeLock.com for details.

*Never give your Social Security number out unnecessarily.

National Review 2009 Mediterranean Cruise
LAST CHANCE

With affordable rates (prices for this spectacular sojourn start at $2,499 p/p), a luxury ship, grand accommodations, superior service, gourmet cuisine, a sunny itinerary, exclusive cocktail receptions and

ROME, DUBROVNIK, CORFU, SANTORINI, KATAKOLON, PIRAEUS, EPHESUS, MESSINA

smokers (featuring world-class H. Upmann cigars), scintillating seminars covering today's top issues, and intimate dining with guest speakers (on three nights), this is sure to be one of the most exciting *National Review* cruises ever. Join us for ten days and nights of grand cruising while discussing current events with

KARL ROVE
MICHAEL NOVAK
JOHN BOLTON
DICK MORRIS
GEORGE GILDER
TONY BLANKLEY
CAL THOMAS
JONAH GOLDBERG
PETE DU PONT
RICH LOWRY
KATHRYN JEAN LOPEZ
CHRISTINA SOMMERS
JAY NORDLINGER
JOHN O'SULLIVAN
JOHN HILLEN
RAMESH PONNURU
KATE O'BEIRNE
JASON STEORTS
SALLY SATEL

TO SIGN UP VISIT
WWW.NRCRUISE.COM
OR CALL 1-800-707-1634

importance. Pragmatism is, so to speak, the anti-intellectualism of the philosophers, and those who swallowed it were unwittingly but effectively drinking their own hemlock.

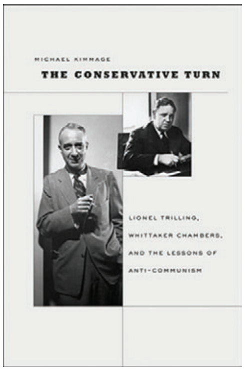
In the process, Progressives and Pragmatists alike missed the boat on two developments in the later 20th century that none of the Pragmatists could have foreseen: 1) the rise of a neo-orthodox religious critique (especially as championed by Reinhold Niebuhr in the 1950s) and the persistence of the seriousness with which theology was conducted as an intellectual enterprise in America; and 2) the emergence, in violent fashion, of the New Left in the 1960s. Both were a puzzle to Pragmatists, because there was no reason they could see for the dogmatic outlook behind both even to exist.

These two survivals, desperately unalike in all respects except the single conviction that there is an unmistakable pattern written into human experience and history, suggest that the moral philosophers' instinct was truer than Pragmatism ever imagined, and that Americans want more from ideas than the Pragmatic reassurance that ideas are merely tools for experimentation. Nor has the natural-law core of the moral-philosophy tradition ever faded entirely from the American intellectual scene. How could it? When Jefferson asserted that "we hold these truths to be self-evident," he assumed that not only were there truths, but that everyone was compelled to acknowledge their existence. Lincoln believed that the American order was founded on a "proposition"—not an experience, and certainly not on race, blood, ethnicity, or any of the other Romantic irrationalities. (Lincoln is frequently described as a "pragmatist"; but using the term this way makes it into little more than a synonym for "practical." Strictly speaking, Lincoln was anything but a Pragmatist. He denounced slavery as ethically wrong, as a violation of natural law and natural theology—and would admit to no compromise with, and no scaling back of, his Emancipation Proclamation.)

The master narrative of Pragmatism would have us believe that all Americans are Pragmatists, and always have been; the history of American ideas—the real history—tells us something very different. And that's why the history of America in the Age of Obama, and beyond, will continue to be a clash of ideas. **NR**

Hinge of History

RONALD RADOSH


MICHAEL KIMMAGE
THE CONSERVATIVE TURN
LIONEL TRILLING, WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, AND THE LESSONS OF ANTI-COMMUNISM

The Conservative Turn: Lionel Trilling, Whittaker Chambers, and the Lessons of Anti-Communism, by Michael Kimmage (Harvard, 440 pp., $45)

In this important debut book, Michael Kimmage—a young scholar who promises to become one of America's preeminent intellectual historians—addresses himself to the journeys of two Columbia University students from the 1920s, Lionel Trilling and Whittaker Chambers. The two could not have been more unalike. Trilling's Jewish family emigrated from London, where he grew up immersed in appreciation of Victorian England and its culture; Chambers grew up on Long Island, the son of WASP parents in a highly dysfunctional family whose fortunes were declining.

At Columbia, both men were drawn to the student literary magazine, *The Morningside*. Within a short time, they, along with the other editors, moved into the orbit of the American Communist movement, with Chambers actually joining the Party. Yet, within two decades, both would become leaders of a new anti-Communism, although personifying two very different strands of opposition. Trilling became the architect of what would become liberal anti-Communism, while Chambers singlehandedly built the edifice of a new conservative anti-Communist position. Both sought to

Mr. Radosh, an adjunct fellow at the Hudson Institute, is co-author of A Safe Haven: Harry S. Truman and the Founding of Israel.

SCM
SMITH-CORONA

THE CATHOLIC WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.: A CELEBRATION!

JUNE 18-21, 2009

Kathryn Lopez
Roger Kimball
James Buckley
Maggie Gallagher
Joseph Bottum
Fr. George Rutler
and more

Register today at www.portsmouthinstitute.org
by phone at (401) 643-1281 or by mail at 285 Corys Lane, Portsmouth RI 02871

PORTSMOUTH INSTITUTE
Veritas Vos Liberabit

defend and preserve Western civilization and its benefits from forces they believed were seeking to destroy it.

Trilling and Chambers each wrote one book that defined the epoch and became the core of its author's legacy. In 1950, Trilling penned *The Liberal Imagination*, in which, in Kimmage's words, he "contrasted an urbane liberal imagination to the vulgar radicalism of the 1930s." In 1952, Chambers wrote his classic *Witness*—his "final brief" on the Hiss case, in which he repudiated his own Communist sojourn and presented himself, as Kimmage writes, "on the side of America's rustic patriots and Hiss on the side of its enlightened, treasonous, and inauthentic elites." By bearing witness to the crimes both he and Hiss had contributed to, he worked hard to "push against a general tendency toward amnesia and denial."

The two, of course, had opposite philosophical positions. Trilling stood with the Enlightenment, with its belief in reason and progress. He believed that the middle class—through the vehicles of the state and the university—could rescue the working class and move it toward a new liberalism of the future, "experienced as a kind of grace by each citizen." Chambers, on the other hand, traced the collapse of the American middle class precisely to belief in the Enlightenment, which led liberals to move, even without realizing it, into the camp of socialism. This led Chambers, in Kimmage's judgment, to exaggerate Communism's hold on liberals and the Left.

For Chambers, the only way to keep Communist ideology from spreading in the West was through religion, specifically Christianity. He sought his own personal path to salvation through Quakerism. Chambers believed that Communism, too, was a religion, but one that was bound to fail since it had only revolution to offer as an outcome of belief, and revolution would be capable of producing only a hell on earth. He believed a struggle existed between the "rural Christian masses and a secular, liberal, and urban elite." For Trilling, on the other hand, all religion was an escape from reality, and he personally and theoretically abhorred those who were believers.

Trilling and Chambers both believed that it was necessary to confront the Hiss case on both an intellectual and a personal level. Trilling developed his views in the intellectually important 1947 novel *The Middle of the Journey*. It was about a couple, Arthur and Nancy Croom, who were based on Alger and Priscilla Hiss, and another character, Gifford Maxim, who was based on Whittaker Chambers. The book appeared before the Hiss case took place; Trilling, as Kimmage writes, "anticipated the ideological fault lines of the postwar era, the kaleidoscopic spectacle of radicalism, conservatism, and liberalism as each was transformed by the Cold War."

Trilling and Chambers both believed that it was necessary to confront the Hiss case on both an intellectual and a personal level.

For Trilling, the end of the journey necessitated a dedication to anti-Communism, which he predicted would be embraced by both conservatives and liberals, although in different ways. Still, he wrote in a letter that "I live with a deep fear of Stalinism at my heart," a fear that brought him close to Chambers in his concerns, if not in his actual political views. Like Chambers, Trilling realized that Stalinism had "recruited the people who have shared my background and culture and corrupted them," and he dedicated his intellectual life to what he called "a struggle, not energetic enough, against all the blindness and malign obfuscations of the Stalinoid mind of our time."

Chambers, of course, was the principal accuser of Hiss, as well as his past associate in the Soviet espionage apparatus. Had he lived into the Reagan era, Kimmage suggests, Chambers would have "felt vindicated to learn that Ronald Reagan knew passages of *Witness* by heart." Chambers believed that the rush of liberals to embrace and defend Hiss revealed how little they knew about Communist infiltration and espionage. Having succumbed to the false ideals of Communism decades earlier, they felt a need to deny the truth—that some of those they worked with and admired were secret revolutionaries at night and fake New Dealers by day. Other liberals, Chambers said, minimized any real differences between liberalism and Communism, and actually "adopted Hiss as one of their own." They reasoned that if they joined those who wanted to punish Hiss, it meant they would be siding with the forces of reaction, and how unfashionable would that be?

Fighting the Communists would be harder than either man suspected, owing to Sen. Joseph McCarthy and his much publicized anti-Communist campaign. McCarthy, as Kimmage writes, "indiscriminately targeted the liberal elites who had either defended Hiss . . . or who in some way resembled Hiss." McCarthy represented some of the very elements Chambers supported: He was a genuine, populist anti-Communist. At first, Chambers refused to condemn McCarthy, but eventually came to describe him as "a raven of disaster" for the conservative movement.

Kimmage argues that Chambers believed "McCarthy sullied the cause of anti-Communism, encouraging liberals in their self-righteousness." They could avoid confronting their own tolerance of Communists in the past, and point to the junior senator from Wisconsin "in self-serving horror, fancying themselves the victims of a repressive anti-Communist agenda." Privately, Kimmage shows, Chambers let his trusted friends know he was fed up with McCarthy. A speech by him, Chambers wrote Ralph de Toledano, would not help anybody "except Senator McCarthy." After reading William F. Buckley Jr. and Brent Bozell's *McCarthy and His Enemies*, Chambers wrote Henry Regnery that "the Senator hasn't got a leg to stand on." With the passing of time, Chambers predicted, "the repeated dull thud of [McCarthy's] low blow may prove to be the real factor in his undoing."

Chambers's final judgment was that McCarthy might end up discrediting not just himself but "the whole anti-Communist effort for a long time to come." If he supported McCarthy, Chambers wrote, it would "give the enemy even a minor pretext for confusing the Hiss case with [McCarthy's] activities." It would be the Left, not the Right, that

NATIONAL REVIEW INSTITUTE'S WASHINGTON FELLOWS PROGRAM

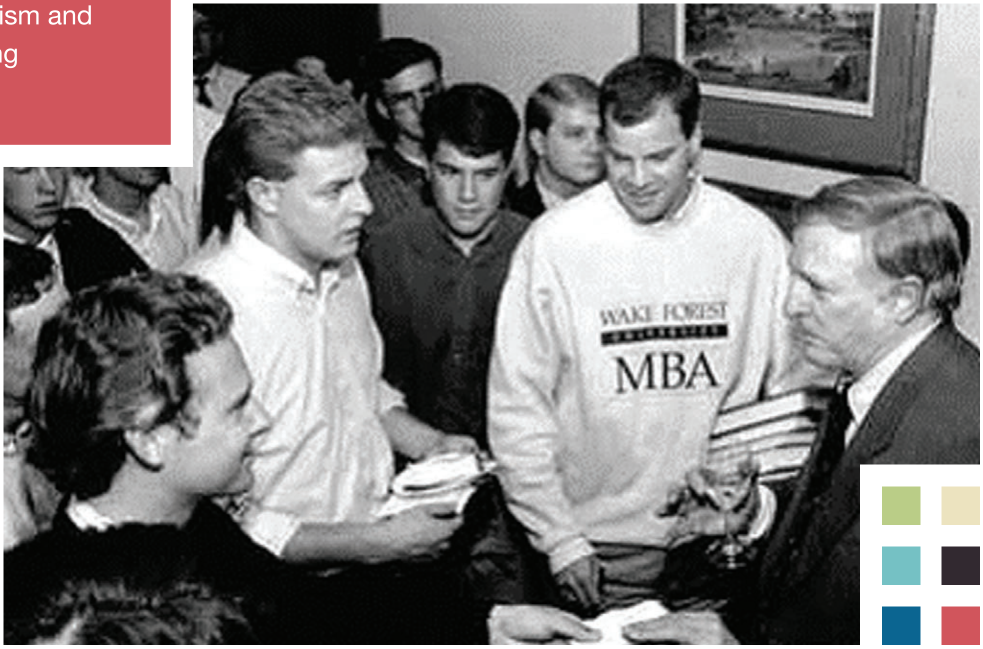
THE COMEBACK STARTS HERE

National Review Institute is accepting applications for its exciting new program to identify and inform the next generation of principled, committed conservative leaders in Washington.

The Institute's Washington Fellows will have distinguished scholars, authors, and media figures provide tutorials on conservative principles and the modern conservative movement. Through an intensive course of readings and lively discussions, these young professionals will explore the enduring truths of conservatism and the principled debates among thoughtful conservatives.

The Institute invites applications from Washington-based young professionals—including employees of the federal government, public-policy research institutions, and the print and broadcast media—who are diligent, ambitious, and interested in a deeper engagement with the conservative intellectual tradition. Applicants for this competitive program should have at least three years of relevant work experience.

To learn more about joining the inaugural class of Washington Fellows, visit NRInstitute.org.



NATIONAL REVIEW Institute

"Young professionals aspiring to be conservative leaders must embark on a study of the principles of limited, conservative government that have made America exceptional. NRI's Washington Fellows program also offers the opportunity for young conservatives to be part of a network that builds long-term relationships and alliances with like-minded activists."
—Leonard A. Leo, member, NRI Washington Fellows Board of Advisers; Executive Vice President, The Federalist Society

"To make a comeback, conservatives need thinkers and doers. Even better, they need people who can do both. That is what the National Review Institute's Washington Fellows program offers to young conservatives." *—Ron Haskins, member, NRI Washington Fellows Board of Advisers; Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution; author,* Work Over Welfare, The Inside Story of the 1996 Welfare Reform Law

National Review Institute was founded by William F. Buckley Jr. in 1991 to engage in policy development, public education, and advocacy that would advance the conservative principles he championed. As a non-profit 501(c)(3) organization, we rely on the financial contributions of the general public: individuals, foundations, and corporations. Donations to National Review Institute are tax-deductible. To support our work, visit NRInstitute.org or call 202-543-9226.

would benefit from support for the senator. To the Communists, Chambers wrote, "McCarthy is a political godsend. . . . For the Right to tie itself in any way to McCarthy is suicide." Later, he would go so far as to emphasize that there was a major distinction between liberals and Communists: "Liberals are not Communists, and a mind would have to be grossly undiscriminating or inflamed by a passion for absurdity, if it supposed that they were."

What to do about McCarthy was as difficult a question for Trilling as it was for conservatives. His hope was to change liberalism so that it became unequivocally anti-Communist. Like Chambers, Trilling "sought a balance between McCarthy's reckless anti-Communism and the self-righteousness of anti-McCarthy liberals, who . . . derided McCarthy and applauded themselves for a sudden amnesia" that led them quickly to forget their own old infatuation with the Soviet Union. "Trilling's response to McCarthy," Kimmage comments, "was not notably different from Chambers's, with the important qualification that Trilling cared about McCarthy as a threat to liberal anti-Communism, while Chambers cared about him as a threat to conservative anti-Communism." They were united in an effort to create "a mature anti-Communism in America."

The Trillings were invited to the Kennedy White House, and were thoroughly enchanted by the myth of Camelot; Chambers's successors felt at home in the Reagan White House, and had moved on to create a united anti-Communist conservative movement, much as Chambers had hoped. Yet, when the eruptions of the New Left broke out, Columbia's radical undergraduates saw both men as ancestral enemies. Chambers was completely anathema and depicted as a "corrupt defender of the status quo," while Trilling was denounced by them as one of the "establishment critics who preached the necessity of order, myth, stability, the conservative tradition." Were he still alive, Chambers would undoubtedly have joined Trilling in trying to defend the university from the would-be new revolutionaries. The two representatives of differing traditions of conservative and liberal anti-Communism would have stood together against the threat of anarchy emanating from the New Left. **NR**

Music

Four Nights

JAY NORDLINGER

Salzburg, Austria

THE summer festival that takes place here in this fair city is a very big deal: probably the most prominent music festival in the world. It stretches for five weeks, in July and August, and includes over 100 performances. The Salzburg Easter Festival is a less big deal: but a wonderful deal.

Herbert von Karajan, the late conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic (and other orchestras), founded this festival in 1967. He wanted a showcase for his Berlin band. The resident orchestra during the summer, you see, is a rival orchestra: *the* rival orchestra: the Vienna Philharmonic. Also, Karajan wanted to create something special for Easter. This holiday is a big occasion in this part of the world: much bigger than in, say, Sandusky, Ohio.

The format of the Easter Festival is neat and compact: four distinct evenings. After a couple days' break, the evenings are reprised. Typically, you get a purely orchestral concert. And then an orchestral concert with instrumental soloist. And then a choral concert—usually of sacred music (which dominates the choral repertoire). And, finally, an opera: fully staged.

The Easter Festival is a very good idea—one of the best ideas Karajan had, in his long career. (Joining the Nazi party—twice—was a less good idea.) (Though it did him no harm, did it?)

Conductors and soloists come and go, but, at the Easter Festival, the orchestra always remains the same: the Berlin Philharmonic. And a superb orchestra it is. The Berliners are heavily hyped, but you can excuse the hype: Their sound is extraordinary; their technical skills are equally so; and their musical wisdom is considerable.

Not often can you judge an orchestra alone: apart from a conductor. So much depends on the guy standing in front of the orchestra. Leopold Stokowski could get "his" sound with the Saskatoon Sinfonietta. But we can say that the Berlin Philharmonic is an entity unto itself: a type of musician, with about 200 legs.

Since 2002, the Philharmonic has been led by Sir Simon Rattle, and it is he who has been leading these Easter Festivals. An Englishman (as that "Sir" suggests), he had a long tenure at the CBSO, which is to say, the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra. Then he stepped up onto what is arguably the most prestigious podium in the world.

His tenure has had its share of controversy: Some orchestra members, critics, and others like him; some don't. Of whom is that not true, really? I myself have had "issues" with Sir Simon: He can be a little loose and uninspired. He can be just okay: "good enough for government work." But he can reach a great height, too. At any rate, he seems secure in Berlin, as they have signed him up through the 2019–20 season, if you can believe it.

Over the years, he has had a large, rather wondrous "afro": a big crown of curly hair. At first it was dark, then it was gray, and now it is white. One sees a hint of a bald spot. But this is still a first-class head of hair—and everyone knows how important hair is where conductors are concerned. A woman in Philadelphia was overheard telling another woman, "Say what you want about Muti, but, God, what great hair."

The first concert I attended, at Easter Festival '09, featured Yefim Bronfman in the Brahms Piano Concerto No. 2. This is the concerto famously dubbed "a symphony with piano obbligato." Bronfman was born in Russia, went to Israel, and is now an American citizen. That is a common trajectory. And he is something very rare in the world: a great pianist. Furthermore, he is a pianist without specialty, at home in music of every sort. He is a thundering virtuoso; and also a highly sensitive and satisfying Mozartean (for example).

He also knows his way around Brahms—as he has proven in the chamber music, not least. And he proved it again in the Second Piano Concerto. He played it in neither a Russian style nor a Germanic style, but in a thoroughly Brahmsian one. He demonstrated what can best be summed up as "judgment"—

musical intelligence, musical knowing. And the Berlin Philharmonic sounded glorious, as expected.

After intermission, they offered *The Rite of Spring*, Stravinsky's shocker from 1913. Would they be raw and primitive enough in it? Are they too elegant and refined a group to express what the work should express? No, they brought it off splendidly, making Salzburg's Great Festival Hall groan and rock.

The next night, we got, to begin with, Angelika Kirchschlager, in Kurt Weill's *Seven Deadly Sins*. Kirchschlager is an Austrian mezzo-soprano, and, in fact, a Salzburg native. In a public interview with me a few years ago, she said that she had been in the children's chorus in *Carmen*. Today, she is brainy, sexy, versatile, and just about every other good thing one can be.

What was she like in the Weill? Well, do you remember a lyric from *The Music Man*? "I smile, I grin, when the gal with a touch of sin walks in." Kirchschlager imparted more than a touch—yet she also knows the value of understatement. And she sang in a particularly delicious German.

After her, we had Stefan Dohr, world's greatest French hornist, almost certainly. He is a member of the orchestra, though he was soloing on this night. I first heard him years ago, in a chamber concert: and I could not believe my ears. He did things you are not supposed to be able to do with a French horn—most rude and obstinate of instruments. In Dohr's hands, it was a lamb: pliant, nimble, sweet. People around the world have shaken their heads in wonder.

Here in Salzburg, he played the Concerto No. 2 of Richard Strauss, who was partial to the horn—his father was a pro. And Dohr's performance? Put it this way: I heard it, but I'm still not sure I believe it.

Then the Berliners and Sir Simon gave us Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. I like to quote Robert Graves, who said, "The thing about Shakespeare is that he really *is* good." Well, so is this symphony. And these forces did it up royally, stirringly, thrillingly. Seldom have I heard this conductor so convincing.

On the next evening—Easter Sunday—came the choral concert. The main work was the Mozart *Requiem*. You might say that a requiem was not the best choice for this day. Anyone for Mahler's Symphony No. 2, the "Resurrection"? But a good performance of the Mozart *Requiem* is always welcome.

And that is what we got. On the podium was, not Simon Rattle, but Franz Welser-Möst, the Austrian—a Linz boy—who is music director in Cleveland. He led a *Requiem* that was brisk but not rushed, disciplined but not unfeeling. The entire work breathed well. And Welser-Möst conducted with total commitment: musical commitment, sure, but also a moral one (if you will allow).

Of the soloists, I would like to cite the two women: Genia Kühmeier, soprano, and Bernarda Fink, mezzo-soprano. Like Kirchschlager, Kühmeier is a Salzburg girl, and her singing is reliably fresh, pure, and appealing. Fink is from Argentina. (Her Slovenian parents explain her last name.) And she is a grossly underfamous singer, in my view. I have never heard a better Bach singer: not in the flesh, and not on recordings. And she of course did her part—minor—in Mozart's *Requiem* admirably.

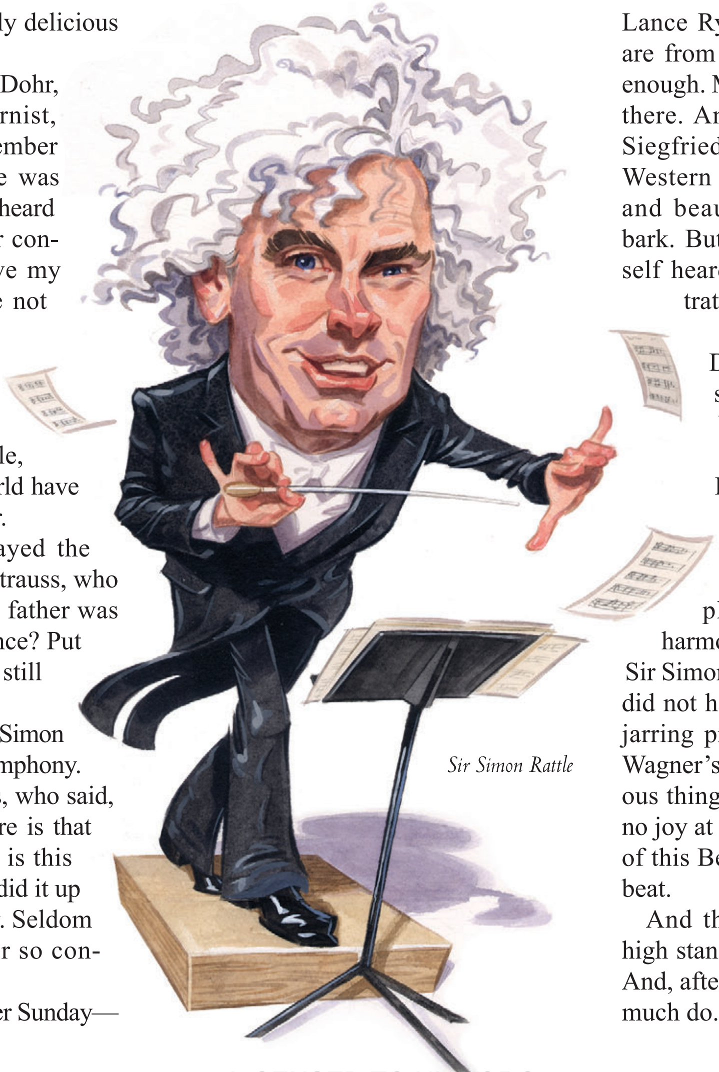
Speaking of singing, the final night brought the opera: *Siegfried*, third installment of Wagner's *Ring* (a tetralogy, or a four-parter). The Easter Festival has been doing one installment a year. Next year, we will end in flames, with *Twilight of the Gods*. The production—of the entire *Ring*—is in the hands of Stéphane Braunschweig, a French director. The most I can say for his *Siegfried* is that it is better than his *Rhine Gold* or *Valkyrie*. Wagner's score and story are vibrant, enchanting, and multicolored. This production is austere, ungenerous, blah (despite commendable touches). Oh, well.

Our Siegfried was supposed to be Ben Heppner, today's heldentenor of choice. But he was indisposed, and instead we had a youngish unknown, Lance Ryan. Both Heppner and Ryan are from British Columbia, amazingly enough. Must be something in the water there. And Braunschweig dresses his Siegfried in a lumberjack shirt: very Western Canadian. Ryan sang easily and beautifully, with no Wagnerian bark. But he had trouble making himself heard through Wagnerian orchestration.

Brünnhilde was Katarina Dalayman, the fine Swedish soprano—who on this night brought no top. No high notes whatsoever. Too bad, because Brünnhilde has plenty.

Siegfried, like other *Ring* operas, and other Wagner operas, is unabashedly symphonic, and the Berlin Philharmonic was the star of the show. Sir Simon, having seized the reins back, did not have his best night. There were jarring problems of coordination, and Wagner's ending—one of the most joyous things in all of music—had almost no joy at all. A real cheat. But the sound of this Berlin bunch, overall, is hard to beat.

And they consistently meet a very high standard. You could get used to it. And, after a couple of nights, you pretty much do. **NR**



Sir Simon Rattle

DARREN GYGI

Film

Strange Voyage

ROSS DOUTHAT

Across more than 40 years of *Star Trek*—the five television incarnations, the eleven motion pictures, the galaxy knows how many novels—there have been few sequences as arresting as the opening moments of this spring's J. J. Abrams big-screen reboot.

A small starship, the USS *Kelvin*, glides through deep space to an encounter with a vast and terrifying vessel. The *Kelvin* is sleek and white, a miniature of the familiar *Enterprise*; the intruder is an immensity of interwoven steel and shadow, like a space-born thornbush or a tangle of interlocking scimitars.

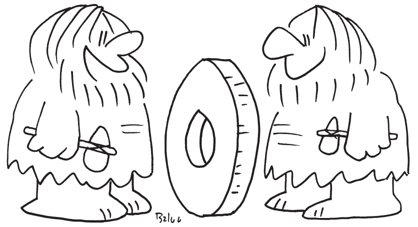
In a matter of moments, the smaller ship is attacked and disabled, its captain is captured and murdered, and a young officer named Kirk takes the helm and orders an evacuation. One of the evacuees is his wife, pregnant and on the verge of delivery. As she's rushed to a shuttlecraft, her husband clears the bridge and steers his wounded craft toward the enemy's maw. The shuttles leap away, and a communications channel knits the doomed commander to his sobbing, laboring wife. "Name him Jim," he tells her, just before the *Kelvin* collides with the enemy ship—and the last thing we see before the score swells and the familiar *Star Trek* logo sweeps across the screen is a long shot of the dark vessel engulfed in flame from the collision, and the shuttles, like a flock of swans, floating to safety across the sweep of stars.

If only the film that followed lived up to this kick-off. In fairness, Abrams's *Star Trek* has a nearly impossible task: It's supposed to be a new *Trek* and an old one all at once, an origin story for the heroes of the 1960s-vintage show, with a crop of twentysomething actors trying to fill the shoes of William Shatner, Leonard Nimoy, DeForest Kelley, and all the other old familiars. You can imagine all sorts of worst-case scenarios unspooling from this mission—a misbegotten blend of sci-fi and soap opera, for instance (think *Star Trek: The College Years*), or a thudding *Trek* equivalent of George Lucas's god-awful *Star Wars* prequels, with the charms of the original saga embalmed in special effects.

The movie is better than this; indeed, at times it's very good indeed. The cast, all youth and inexperience, are nearly perfect for their roles. You probably haven't heard of Chris Pine and Zachary Quinto, who take on the daunting tasks of playing Kirk and Spock respectively, but they strike just the right blend of homage and innovation, channeling aspects of Shatner's alpha-male buoyancy and Nimoy's eyebrow-hoisting cool without ever risking caricature. And the gang around them is similarly stellar: Karl Urban is mint-julep cool as Leonard "Bones" McCoy; Zoe Saldana smolders as a young Uhura; Simon Pegg, the genius behind *Shaun of the Dead* and sundry other Britcomedies, has a bright-eyed blast as Scotty. And as Sulu and Chekhov, John Cho and Anton Yelchin . . . well, they do more with their ethnic caricatures than you might expect, at least.

The feel of the thing, likewise, nicely updates the original series's aesthetic. The special-effects wizardry is reserved for battling starships and flaring nebulae, and the physical environment in which the characters operate is reassuringly tactile and undigitized. The prevailing style is future-retro, blending iPod sleekness with the bells and whistles of mid-century sci-fi—gleaming buttons, bright lights, and a big captain's chair at the center of it all. So too with the fashions, which nod to the show's Sixties roots—there are miniskirts on the female officers, and if you watch closely you'll see a crewmember sporting an afro—without running to Austin Powers–style camp.

So the details are just right; the devil's in the big picture. There are two broad paths to reinventing a storied, somewhat cheesy slice of popular culture like *Star Trek*. You can be faithful to the ham and silliness, the caricatured characters and the familiar one-liners. Or you can *really* reimagine it, going for grit and realism, and trying to coax out higher drama and richer themes than the source material possessed.



"This will be great for chase scenes."

We've seen a lot of the latter approach of late in genre entertainments, from the superheroes-meet-Shakespeare melodrama of Christopher Nolan's *Batman Begins* and *The Dark Knight* to the brutality and heartbreak woven into the Daniel Craig reboot of the Bond franchise. The most successful recent example is probably the updated *Battlestar Galactica*, whose creators—led by a former *Star Trek* writer, Ronald Moore—took a clunky cult classic from the Seventies and made something dark and gripping and quasi-adult out of it.

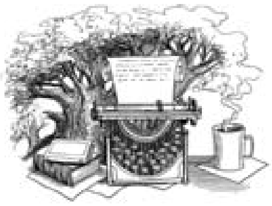
Going into Abrams's *Trek*, part of me wanted to see the original story given the *Battlestar* treatment; part of me something more faithful to the gee-whiz spirit of the original. In the event, though, the movie is trapped somewhere in between. Moment to moment, the script seems designed to be punctuated by fanboy applause, not critical chin-stroking: All the familiar tropes and catchphrases get a workout, and the plot, featuring a time-traveling Romulan villain (Eric Bana, tattooed like an MS-13 gang member) with a planet-destroying weapon and a grudge against Spock, is a shameless pastiche of elements from *Trek*s gone by.

But then midway through, the movie throws a curveball. The point of the time-travel device, it turns out, is to change Kirk and Spock sufficiently to kick off an alternative timeline—a different *Trek*-world in which the chronology of the shows and movies gets wiped away, and anything can happen. And the movie punctuates that point by having something happen (two somethings, technically, if you include the far-future calamity that sets the events in motion) that's way too weighty and tragic, and way too much of a departure from *Star Trek* as we've known it, for an otherwise superficial film to bear.

If J. J. Abrams wanted to rip away a crucial part of the *Star Trek* universe, then he needed to earn the right to do it, by making a movie that boldly went where no *Trek* film has gone before. Instead, his *Star Trek* is too faithful to count as a reinvention of its source material—but just unfaithful enough to count as a betrayal, and a blunder. **NR**

Country Life

Bright Wings



RICHARD BROOKHISER

THERE is a window—it will shut even as these words appear—between the melting of the snow and the unfurling of leaves. The trees stand crowded together like empty coat racks; daylight, moonlight, and eyesight travel through them for yards and yards. In May the green curtain falls and nature will display itself, but also hide itself. Now you can track the birds.

In the winter we put out seed and suet, and attract a flock of small dependents. Experience has taught us to bring the feeders down at the end of March, though: After a bear just out of hibernation came onto our deck for some nighttime cleanup, we made the open house seasonal. The early-spring window shows birds doing what they do naturally, unaided by us.

Every year a pair of phoebes builds a nest, sometimes on the light fixture in the carport where they leave their droppings on the roof of my ’77 Camaro, most often on the lintel of the front door. All winter long the old nests decay, tugged by the wind, plundered by other birds for material. Then a few weeks ago I noticed that the front-door nest looked smooth and solid, as if it had just come off a potter’s wheel. No one was home, so I held my wife’s makeup mirror over it to look inside. White eggs looked back. After that, whenever I step outside, an alarmed adult phoebe speeds away. Our routine is comic, like eccentric neighbors in some old sitcom. The bird books tell me that phoebes like to build on or near human houses, and have even nested in the pockets of pants hanging on clotheslines. Why would a wild creature court such vexing proximity? They clearly appreciate the shelter of overhanging roofs and gutters. Are they smart enough to sense that humans, though large and noisy, are not specifically hostile, and might actually deter less bold predators? Soon the mirror will reveal silent nestlings; soon after that, another vacancy.

Phoebes belong to the large cohort of small birds. Bigger birds seem to be less common. The largest woodpecker in North America—depending on the fate, still uncertain, of the ivory-billed woodpecker—is the pileated woodpecker. We have at least one in my neighborhood. He has a loud, rather maniacal call—the model, I imagine, for Woody—and depending on the timbre of the tree that he is excavating, he can make the woods ring. He is an elusive bird, though, seemingly aware of prying eyes and likely to pick the far side of tree trunks if he is being observed. So I was surprised to see a black shape coasting over my lawn. It had a rocking flight, and there was a flash of white. But not until the bird landed did I see the drill beak and the blazing red head.

Phoebe

For all his caution, a good meal will induce him to expose himself. There must have been ants in the trees at the edge of the yard, for he posted himself in full view and whacked away. The force in his neck and shoulders is amazing; he leaves large rectangular holes, and little piles of chips on the ground below. Naturalists who tried to tame pileated woodpeckers in the early 19th century reported that it was impossible: The birds demolished their cages, and then went to work on everything in the room. Like John Randolph of Roanoke, they love liberty, and they are more than equal to the task of destruction.

Crows project intelligence. I suppose birds have no true intellectuals, but crows are James Burnham’s managers. They appear to have plans; they certainly seem to act together in pursuit of enlightened self-interest. They communicate; more, they network. Their harsh calls fetch others. Twelve crows flying home after sunset is the image of a posse. Nothing fazes them. There is a slight hump to their black backs that gives them a permanent shrug. It is the mark of their worldliness, and their persistence: Never mind, we got something else going on the next ridge. They have seen it all, and they will be back tomorrow.

The owl of Minerva flies only at nightfall, said Hegel. I don’t know about that, but that’s when the owl of death flies. At this time of year, the ground is thick with last year’s leaves; quite small animals make a great stir. Squirrels and chipmunks run about, but the ground cover crackles with unseen things too: moles, voles, mice, I am not naturalist enough to know. Owls know. I was on my deck, grilling dinner, at the hour when there was still just enough light to almost see by. I heard a sound slightly louder than usual. A largish bird had lighted on a tree branch about 15 feet away. Then it flew off. I walked to the lawn to get another view, and its friend—or the same bird again—left another branch. Both takeoffs, and the flights that followed, were absolutely silent. I have heard owls asking, “Who cooks for you?” and hooting, huffing, and cackling. This was business. They say Turks used mutes to strangle victims. Later on (dinner done) I took out a flashlight. As I swept it along the ground, I picked out a shape and two sharp red eyes. Red—blood, fire, devils! But, more to the point, it is the refraction of light from an owl’s corneas. He had finished dinner too perhaps, or was between courses.

Crow

Last bird. I was driving on Sunday to the bus that would take me home to the city, down the main artery of the valley, the U.S. highway that was the canal route and before that the Indian trail. Flying along, between the Catholic church and the PX, was a bald eagle. It was low, unmistakable: white head, white tail, huge. I couldn’t believe it, but my friend Doug said, No, they’re around. News to me. **NR**

Happy Warrior BY MARK STEYN

The Aura of Inevitability

I WAS in one of those hotels where they give you the *New York Times* whether you want it or not. And, even if you leave it in the corridor, the maid brings it into the room and places it invitingly on the table. And, even though you ignore it, you call down for a pot of tea and the room-service guy moves it to put the tray down and then drapes the paper slightly over the edge between the cup and the single flower in the mini-vase as though posed for a *Still Life of Afternoon Tea with New York Times* that fetches $1.6 million at Sotheby's. And at that point, fearing the next stage would be when I slid into bed to be awakened 20 minutes later by the hooker from the lobby curled up on the adjoining pillow and reading Frank Rich into my ear, I gave in and opened up the paper. Inside was a story of immigrants in Langley Park, Md., "Struggling to Rise in Suburbs" (as the headline put it). Usual sludge, but in the middle of it, helpfully explaining Langley Park to his readers, Jason DeParle wrote as follows:

> Now nearly two-thirds Latino and foreign-born, it has the aesthetics of suburban sprawl and the aura of Central America. Laundromats double as money-transfer stores. Jobless men drink and sleep in the sun. There is no city government, few community leaders, and little community.

At which point I stopped, and went back, and reread it. For it seemed to me at first glance that Mr. DeParle was airily citing laundromats doubling as money-transfer stores, jobless men drinking and sleeping in the sun, and dysfunctional metropolitan government all as evidence of "the aura of Central America." And that can't be right, can it? Only a couple of days earlier, some Internet wags had leaked a discussion thread from the JournoList, the exclusive virtual country club where all the cool libs hang out. In this instance, the media grandees were arguing vehemently that Martin Peretz of *The New Republic* was, in the elegant formulation one associates with today's journalism-school alumni, a "crazy-ass racist." The proof that this lifelong liberal (albeit a wee bit hawkish on Israel for today's Islamophile lefties) is a "f**king racist" came in his observations on our friendly neighbor to the south:

"Well, I am extremely pessimistic about Mexican-American relations," wrote Mr. Peretz. "A (now not quite so) wealthy country has as its abutter a Latin society with all of its characteristic deficiencies: congenital corruption, authoritarian government, anarchic politics, near-tropical work habits, stifling social mores, Catholic dogma with the usual unacknowledged compromises, an anarchic counter-culture and increasingly violent modes of conflict."

Martin Peretz's assumptions about "the aura of Central America" are not so very different from Jason DeParle's, but Mr. Peretz brought down the wrath of his own side's politically correct enforcers. Even though his remarks are utterly unexceptional to anyone familiar with Latin America. But since when have the PC police cared about observable reality?

Langley Park is a good example of where tiptoeing around on multiculti eggshells leads: There is literally no language in which what's happening in suburban Maryland can be politely discussed, not if an ambitious politician of either party wishes to remain viable. To exhibit an interest in immigration is to risk being marked down as, if not a "racist," at least a "nativist." And "immigration" isn't really what it is, not really: After all, in traditional immigration patterns the immigrant assimilates to his new land, not the new land to the immigrant. Yet in this case the aura of Maryland dissolves like a mirage when faced with "the aura of Central America."

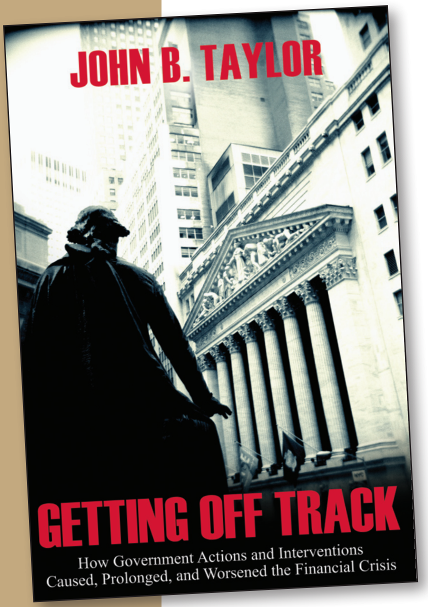
Two generations ago, America, Canada, Australia, and the rest of the developed world took it as read that a sovereign nation had the right to determine which, if any, foreigners it extended rights of residency to. Now only Japan does. Everywhere else, opposition to mass immigration is "nativist," and expressing a preference for one group of immigrants over another is "racist." Even though 40 years ago governments routinely distinguished between Irish and Bulgar, Indian and Somali, now all that matters is to demonstrate your multicultural bona fides even unto societal suicide, as if immigration policy were a U.N. peacekeeping operation—one of those activities in which you have no "national interest."

To exhibit an interest in immigration is to risk being marked down as, if not a 'racist,' at least a 'nativist.'

"It's overblown that suddenly Islam is going to spread across the nation," a candidate for Canada's socialist New Democratic party said on the radio the other day. "And, if it does, so what?" Jens Orback, then the "integration minister" of Sweden (and pity the land that needs such a cabinet official), was less devil-may-care. On Sveriges Radio five years ago, he advised his fellow Swedes to "be nice to Muslims while we're in the majority so that they'll be nice to us when they're in the majority." Another "integration minister," Armin Laschet of North Rhine–Westphalia, tells his fellow Germans that "in our cities 30–40 percent of children have an immigrant background. It will be them who will sustain this country in 20 years."

Very few Swedes knowingly voted for societal self-extinction, yet in barely a third of century it's become a fait accompli. And in a politically correct world there is no acceptable form of public discourse in which to object to it. This is the triumph of the Left's assault on language. As my colleague John Derbyshire put it in another context: Better dead than rude. **NR**

From the Author of *Global Financial Warriors*


JOHN B. TAYLOR
GETTING OFF TRACK
How Government Actions and Interventions Caused, Prolonged, and Worsened the Financial Crisis

Getting Off Track

How Government Actions and Interventions Caused, Prolonged, and Worsened the Financial Crisis

by John B. Taylor

What caused the current financial crisis? What prolonged it? What dramatically worsened it more than a year after it began? John Taylor draws on powerful research conducted during the past two years and concludes that specific government actions and interventions should be first on the list of answers. In this book he explains how government got off track by deviating from sound principles for setting interest rates that had worked well for twenty years—an action responsible for accelerating the housing boom and ultimately leading to the housing bust, foreclosures, defaults, and toxic assets on the balance sheets of financial institutions. With no boom there would have been no bust.

> *If Milton Friedman and I had written as persuasive an analysis as this, one year—rather than thirty years—after the Great Depression began, the United States might have had a typical recession rather than the greatest downturn in its history.*
>
> - **Anna Schwartz**, author, with Milton Friedman, of *The Great Contraction, 1929–1933*

> *This short volume does a masterful job of tracking the stunning financial market and macroeconomic events of 2007 and 2008, and it provides an organizing framework that will enable the specialist and novice alike to examine these events in a coherent setting.*
>
> - **James Poterba**, Mitsui Professor of Economics at MIT and president and CEO of the National Bureau of Economic Research

John B. Taylor is the Bowen H. and Janice Arthur McCoy Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Mary and Robert Raymond Professor of Economics at Stanford University.

February 2009 91 pages
ISBN: 978-0-8179-4971-6, cloth, $14.95

Hoover Press, Stanford University, Stanford, California 94305-6010
Toll-free 800.935.2882 Fax 650.723.8626
www.hooverpress.org

The country that put a man on the moon can cure cancer.

We've always embraced big challenges in this country. It's how the world sees us. How we see ourselves.

Now, President Obama has called on us to end cancer in our lifetime. America's pharmaceutical research and biotechnology companies share that goal. Today, our scientists are working on 800 new medicines to fight this deadly disease that touches so many lives.

It won't be easy, and it won't happen without a renewed emphasis on innovation and a sustained commitment to research and development. Last year, we invested more than $65 billion to discover and develop medicines to help patients live longer, healthier and more productive lives. Like President Obama, we believe that America's best days are ahead of us. Working together, we can do anything.

PhRMA
New Medicines. New Hope.
www.PhRMA.org